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The Life and Works of George Turbervile

By
John Erskine Hankins

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(*Continued inside back cover*)

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FOREWORD

The materials of this volume are in large measure drawn from my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Yale University Graduate School several years ago. I have also prepared an annotated edition of George Turbervile's poems, which I hope to see printed when and if a publisher of sufficient benevolence can be found.

This revival of an obscure poet, who is little more than a name to modern readers, is justified not only by the merits of his work, which are considerable, but also by the light which he sheds upon his contemporaries. While the later Elizabethan writers have been studied rather thoroughly, modern scholarship has not been so kind to those of an earlier period, and there exists a considerable gap in our knowledge of English literature from the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557 to the early works of Spenser. This is particularly true of the non-dramatic writers and translators, a host of whom flourished during these years and many of whose works have never been reprinted. Their value as a background for Spenser, Shakespeare, and their fellows can scarcely be overstressed.

At the heart of this early group was George Turbervile. From the first years of Elizabeth's reign, he took an active part in current literary activity, and many contemporary writers are mentioned in his poems. His published works cover the years 1565-1575 and form a faithful "mirror" of the literary tendencies during that period. He was the predecessor of Spenser in several important respects, and the continued popularity of his works to 1600 shows how well suited they were to the tastes of his readers. With these facts in mind, a study of his poetry and poetic methods should prove to be interesting.

For assistance in making this study, my acknowledgments and sincere thanks are due to the following: to the staffs of the Yale Library and the Harvard College Library for their courteous assistance and for permission to use rare books in their posses-

sion; to the Henry E. Huntington Library for rotographs of Turbervile's works; to the British Museum for rotographs; to the Modern Language Association of America and the University of Wisconsin Library for the use of rotographs in their possession; to the Sterling Foundation for funds which enabled me to bring this study to completion; to Miss Helen E. Sandison of Vassar and Professor Hyder E. Rollins of Harvard for personal communications and valuable notes; to Professor John M. Berdan of Yale, who supervised the work throughout the period of its composition; to my colleagues at the University of Kansas, Professors W. S. Johnson, Clyde K. Hyder, and the late R. D. O'Leary, whose comments have been very helpful.

—J. E. H.

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Part I:

THE LIFE OF GEORGE TURBERVILE

To the modern reader, the ancient and honorable family of the Turberviles in Dorsetshire has a particular interest, because of the excellent effect with which its history is employed in Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. The two families are identical: the genealogy of the D'Urbervilles as given by Hardy is taken directly from Hutchins's account of the Dorsetshire Turberviles,[1] and his description of the tombs at Kingsbere is based upon the Turbervile tombs at Bere Regis.[2] The "ramping lion" which appeared upon John Durbyfield's silver spoon was the lion rampant which formed the Turbervile coat-of-arms, and which was used by George Turbervile, the poet whom we are to consider.

Incidental to his narrative, Hardy has given us a vivid account of this old family, now long extinct, and writers who discuss the locale of his Wessex tales have expanded the account much further.[3] The Turberviles are remembered as a proud, stubborn, and quick-tempered race, abounding in deeds of violence and having a very colorful, if not very creditable, family history. Old legends concerning them still circulate in Dorsetshire; the visitor may see their escutcheon blazoned in the church windows at Bere Regis or may visit one of their family mansions at Woolbridge. These antiquities are faithfully preserved in Hardy's pages and form an indispensable part of his narrative. Tess is the victim of her ancestry; her "gift of a nine-hundred-years-old name" is the means of her downfall, and the accumulated crimes of her forbears descend with the inevitableness of fate upon her unoffending head. This presence of her family

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[1] John Hutchins's *History of Dorsetshire*, ed. 1861-1870, I, 136 ff.

[2] I have seen a statement to this effect in an unpublished notebook of Hardy's, now owned by Mr. A. Edward Newton, of Philadelphia.

[3] See Sherren's *The Wessex of Romance*, Herman Lea's *Thomas Hardy's Wessex*, C. G. Harper's *The Hardy Country*, and R. Thurston Hopkins's *Thomas Hardy's Dorset*.

in a modern masterpiece lends an added interest to that one of its members who was, from a literary standpoint, her most illustrious predecessor.

George Turbervile, born during the last years of Henry VIII's reign, was the heir to an already long line of noble ancestors, dating back to the Norman Conquest. The account of the founding of the family is thus given by Hutchins:

> The Turberviles, or *de turbida Villa*, derived their descent from Sir Pagan or Payne de Turbervile, who came out of France with William the Conqueror, as appears by the Battel Abbey Roll. He was one of the twelve knights who assisted Robert Fitz-hamon, Lord of Estremavilla in Normandy, and after Earl of Gloucester, 4 Will Rufi 1091, in his conquest of Glamorganshire. He dividing the fertile part of the county amongst his knights, gave the lordship and castle of Coity to Sir Pain, in which family it long remained. There were several other branches seated at Penlyn Castle and Ewenny Priory, co. Glamorgan.[4]

Numerous other Turberviles are mentioned thereafter, but none whose connection with the Dorsetshire family is directly traceable until the reign of Henry III, when we have records of one John Turbervile, of Bere, Knight, who was the ancestor and founder of the Bere Regis Turberviles and, through them, of the Woolbridge and Whitchurch branches of the family. Other families of Turberviles were settled in Glamorganshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, etc., and their names are found in the various corrupt spellings of Troblefield, Trublevill, Turvile, some of these variations also being found in accounts of the Dorsetshire family. The latter was of considerable note, all of its important members bearing the titles of *armiger* or *generosus* to the end of Elizabeth's reign and thereafter. Their arms were: Ermine, a lion rampant, crowned gules; their crest a castle argent. The most famous of their number seems to have been John Turbervile, grandfather of our poet and lineal descendant of the earlier John mentioned above; a great favorite with Henry VII, he did much toward advancing the fortunes of his family. His will,

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[4] Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, 136. Fuller's *Worthies of England*: "Dorsetshire" mentions several of the Dorsetshire Turberviles who held responsible public offices before the sixteenth century.

which was proved after his death in 1536, mentions three sons: George, the eldest, who fell heir to the paternal estates; James, the second son, who later became Bishop of Exeter under Philip and Mary and was deposed by Elizabeth; and Henry, the fifth son, who inherited his father's farm at Winterborne Whitchurch and became the father of George Turbervile, the poet.[5]

Our earliest account of George Turbervile, to which nothing of importance was added until 1918,[6] is given by Anthony à Wood, from whom we quote:

> George Turbervile (de turbida Villa) a younger son of Nich. Turbervile of Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, son of Hen. Turb. of the said place, and he the fifth son of Joh. Turbervile of Bere Regis (a right ancient and genteel family) in Dorsetshire, was born at Whitchurch before-mention'd, educated in Wykeham's school near to Winchester, became perpetual fellow of New College 1561, left it before he was graduated the year following, and went to one of the inns of court, where he was much admired for his excellencies in the art of poetry. Afterwards being esteemed a person fit for business, as having a good and ready command of his pen, he was entertained by Tho. Randolph esq. to be his secretary, when he received commission from Queen Elizabeth to go ambassador to the emperor of Russia. After our author's arrival at that place, he did at spare hours exercise his muse and wrote: "Poems describing the Places and Manners of the Country and People of Russia, an. 1568. . . . After his return he was esteemed a most accomplished gentleman, and his company was much sought after and desired by all ingenious men, especially upon his publication of his labours, entit. "Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonnets, Lond. 1570.". . . As for George Turbervile he lived and was in great esteem among ingenious men, in fifteen hundred ninety and four (36 reg. Elizab.) but when he died I cannot yet learn. . . . Whether George Turbervile before-mentioned was the author of the said two books,[7] or another of both his names, who was a Dorsetshire man born and a commoner of Glouc. Hall, an. 1581, aged 18, or a third G. Turbervile, who was born in the said county, and became a student in Magd. Hall, 1595, aged 17, I cannot justly tell you. . . .[8]

Important as Wood's account is, it is mistaken in several in-

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[5] Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, 138. *Vide infra*, p. 86.

[6] The first adequate treatment of Turbervile was Professor Hyder E. Rollins's "New Facts About George Turbervile," *Modern Philology*, XV (1918), 513-538. An earlier article on Turbervile is Emil Koeppel's "George Turberviles Verhältniss zur italienischen Litteratur," *Anglia*, XIII (1891), 42-71. I make frequent references to both of these articles.

[7] I.e., the *Booke of Hauking* and the *Booke of Hunting*.

[8] *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, I, 627.

stances and cannot be substantiated in others. George Turbervile, the poet, was not the son of Nicholas Turbervile, but his brother; both were sons of Henry Turbervile.[9] The *Oxford University Registers* makes no reference to a George Turbervile who entered in 1561, nor can his name be found among the surviving records of the Inns of Court, yet Wood is probably correct in saying that he attended both places. There is some doubt as to the date of his birth. Seccombe, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, sets as a tentative date 1540, stating that he "was admitted scholar of Winchester College in 1554 at the age of fourteen." [10] This statement seems to be attributed to Wood, but it does not appear in *Athenae Oxonienses*, nor can I discover any authority for it. Chalmers, who reprinted *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, supposed their author to have been born about 1530 but adduced no proof thereof.[11] The best evidence has been noticed by Professor Rollins in Turbervile's own works. He points out four lines in the poem entitled "The Louer to Cupid for mercie," which read as follows:

> In greene and tender age
> (my Lorde) till .xviij. yeares,
> I spent my time as fitted youth
> in Schole among my Feeares [companions].

As Wood states that he left Oxford in "the year following" 1561, these lines place his birth in 1544, which we may accept as a date approximately correct.

Of Turbervile's early years we know very little. In Henry Turbervile's will,[12] dated September 7, 1549, five days before his death, we learn that all the family property was to be held in trust for his son, Nicholas, until the latter's coming of age; he is directed to pay to his brother, George, an annuity of twenty marks a year (about thirteen pounds sterling). The overseers of the will were George's uncles, Dr. James Turbervile, later

[9] I relegate to an appendix the somewhat complicated proof of this point. *Vide infra*, pp. 86-88.

[10] *DNB*, LVII, 321.

[11] Chalmers's *English Poets*, ed. 1810, II, 577.

[12] *Inquisitio post mortem* of Henry Turbervile, Chancery Series II, vol. 88, no. 25; Exchequer Series II, file 938, no. 5.

Bishop of Exeter, and Hugh Bampfield, to whom the poet dedicates his translation of Mantuan. In that dedication, he expresses his deep appreciation for many favors rendered him. His uncle James was probably responsible for the boy's education at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, since he himself had attended both these institutions and was a prebendary of Winchester. Through his influence, George may have secured his fellowship at Oxford and may have lost it in the same way, since Bishop Turbervile fell into the bad graces of Elizabeth and was deprived in 1560, being imprisoned for a short time in the Tower.[13] Whether this incident had anything to do with his nephew's leaving Oxford a year or two later, we cannot tell; there is a possibility that this was the case. At all events, we find the poet at the Inns of Court, according to Wood, in 1562, a youth of eighteen or nineteen years, desirous of making himself a place in the literary world.

As Turbervile's name does not appear in the registers of any of the four Inns of Court, it is probable that he was enrolled in one of their subsidiary Inns of Chancery, the records of which have not been preserved. His associations there form the most decisive influence of his life, and most of the friends mentioned in his poems may be traced to the Inns of Court. Among them were Gascoigne, Arthur Broke, Richard Edwards, Thomas Twyne, and Barnabe Googe. Indeed, the Inns were the centers of current literary activity; the scholars there were patronized by prominent members of the nobility and were the principal champions of the new learning, as opposed to the more conservative scholars of the universities.[14] The translation movement centered here, and literature vied with law as an attraction to students. The newly flourishing English drama received much of its impetus from them. The first English tragedy, Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc*, was first acted on Twelfth Night, 1560/61,[15] in the hall of the Inner Temple, of which both its

[13] *DNB*, LVII, 325.

[14] For a complete discussion of this point and of the translation movement, see C. H. Conley's *First English Translators of the Classics*, Yale University Press, 1927.

[15] *DNB*, XLI, 221-224; L, 97.

authors were members. The play *Tancred and Gismund* was acted in the same hall in 1568.[16] At Gray's Inn were acted in 1566 Gascoigne's two plays, *The Supposes* and *Jocasta*.[17] These are only a few out of many possible examples. The masque, which was to become so popular during this and the next century, was indebted for many of its elements to the elaborate Christmas Revels held each year at the Inns of Court, such as those at the Inner Temple in honor of Leicester in 1561 [18] and those at Gray's Inn in 1594.[19] On these occasions, the nobility themselves took part in the festivities, which usually lasted from Christmas to Twelfth Night.

In this congenial atmosphere Turbervile developed and put forth his first literary attempts. Much of his time was devoted to reading, according to his own account, and he has left us the names of some of his favorite books. In the poem "The Louer to Cupid for mercie," he describes himself as reading Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, and Seneca for their sensible counsel; but above all these he prefers Ovid, who writes of love. The strength of this influence was demonstrated later, since his first work as a translator was an English version of Ovid's *Heroides*. In his poem, "To his Friende: P: of courting, trauailing, Dysing, and Tenys," Turbervile pictures himself as a student and scholar, averse to the more popular recreations of young gallants of the time. The facts of his life seem to bear out this description of himself. We have a letter of March 29, 1571, from the Privy Council to the Justices of the Peace in Dorsetshire, reprimanding them for choosing as captains for the army "one Hugh Bampfield, an old man, and George Turbervile, who hath ben alwaies from his youth, and still is, gyven to his boke and studie and never exercised in matters of war." [20] Before this, Turbervile seems to have felt that his studies were not bringing him much

16 H. H. L. Bellot, *The Inner and Middle Temple*, London, 1902, p. 194.
17 Gascoigne's *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 187, 244.
18 Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory*, 1562, quoted in Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, London, 1671, p. 151.
19 *Gesta Grayorum*, 1688. Reprinted in Basil Brown's *Law Sports at Gray's Inn*, New York, 1921.
20 *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, VIII, 21.

in the way of material fortune, whatever credit he might get for them otherwise. In his "Farewell to a mother Cosin, at his going towardes Moscouia," he definitely states that he is making the voyage in an attempt to improve his fortunes, which are in none too flourishing a condition, since he has all his years "in studies fond applide." His trip to Russia was as Secretary to Thomas Randolph, the Queen's ambassador, and extended from June, 1568, to the autumn of the following year.[21] Before taking it, he had already published four books within two years, three volumes translated from the Latin of Ovid, Mantuan, and Mancinus respectively, and a volume of original poems entitled *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, dedicated to the Countess of Warwick, to whom the *Mancinus* was also dedicated. All of these, except possibly the *Mancinus*, were to prove very popular.

The volume *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* throws some interesting light upon Turbervile's biography. Its contents are accurately stated by its title, save that it contains no sonnets in the modern sense, a sonnet meaning to the early Elizabethan any short poem.[22] It was modeled upon *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557, and Barnabe Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnettes*, 1563, the influence of both these volumes being strongly apparent in many places. But most interesting is the fact that a majority of the love poems in the book are written in honor of the same person, Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, who is celebrated as Pandora or Pyndara, while the poet assumes the name of Tymetes. He gives the argument of the work at the beginning, then fits his poems into a rough sequence illustrating the argument. Briefly, the story is that Tymetes fell in love with Pyndara "by sodaine sight of vnacquainted shape" but hesitated for a long time to reveal his love. When he finally gained courage to do so, the lady refused him at first but finally began to requite his love. At this juncture, she made a journey to London and there mar-

21 *DNB*, LVII, 321.

22 Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes of Instruction*: "Some thinke that all Poemes (being short) may be called Sonets, as in deede it is a diminutive worde derived of *Sonare*, but yet I can beste allowe to call those Sonets whiche are of fouretene lynes, every line conteyning tenne syllables" (*Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 471).

ried someone else. The lover mourns her long absence, comparing himself to Troilus awaiting Cressida's return in Troy; finally, learning what she has done, he laments her falseness and renounces all love thereafter.

Anne Russell, eldest daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, was married on November 11, 1565, with great magnificence, to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. The Queen attended; the Earl of Leicester, brother to the groom, gave the bride away in the absence of her father. A Latin poem was written in her honor by Pietro Bizzari, an Italian poet then at the English court.[23] The celebrations lasted for three days, with tourneyings, feasts, and other forms of entertainment. The following challenge was written on the court gate at Westminster:

> Yow that in warlike ways and dedes of arms delight,
> Yow that for cuntryes cawse or ells for ladyes love dare fyght,
> Know yow foure knyghts ther be that come from foren land,
> Whos hawtye herts and corage great hathe movd to take in hand
> With sword, with speare and shild, on fote, on horse backe, to,
> To try what yow by force of fyght, or otharwyse, can do.
> Prepare yowr selves ther fore this challenge to defend,
> That trompe of fame yowr prowes great abrod may sownd and send.
> And he that best can do, y^e^ same shall have the price.
> Y^e^ day, y^e^ place, and forme and fyght, loo here before yowr eys.[24]

Anne was eighteen years old at the time of her marriage.[25] She was Warwick's third wife and he was thirty-seven, just the age of her own father.[26] After the marriage, they remained at court, where Anne became the Queen's favorite.

This marriage is obviously the one that Turbervile refers to in his poems, which can hardly be taken to represent a real love affair. Indeed, the poet warns us against taking his professions of love too seriously. In his opening address to the Reader, he speaks of the "meere fiction of these Fantasies," and in his later

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[23] J. H. Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell*, London, 1833, I, 423-425.

[24] Stowe's *Memoranda*, in *Three 15th Century Chronicles*, p. 134, Camden Society Publications.

[25] Wiffen, *op. cit.*, I, 507-510. Anne was thirteen years older than her sister Margaret, who married in 1577 at the age of seventeen. By calculation, Anne was eighteen in 1565.

[26] Cokayne's *Peerage*, London, 1887-1898, VIII, 64-65.

Epitaphes and Sonnettes he speaks of himself among the gallants at the Inns of Court:

> And being there although my minde were free:
> Yet must I seeme loue wounded eke to be.

As Chalmers said of his poems, "though seemingly addressed to a real mistress, they are full of the borrowed passion of a translator, and the elaborate and unnatural language of a scholar.[27] The criticism is eminently just, if we accept as true the comment upon scholarly language. Turbervile's love poems are studied compliments and little else.

However, it seems to me that some significance should be attached to the period covered by these poems. We know from Turbervile's dedication that he had already published some of them before 1567, the date of the earliest extant edition. It is very probable that part of these were written before Anne's marriage late in 1565,[28] and, if not, they at least imply an acquaintance existing before her marriage. Her journey to London, leaving Tymetes behind, bears all the earmarks of an actual incident.[29] Turbervile may have known her through her father, the Earl of Bedford, who was himself a member of Gray's Inn [30] and a generous patron of the new learning,[31] or he may actually have been in the employ of the latter. At any rate, he remained on good terms with Anne after her marriage, as is shown by the dedications of his *Mancinus* and his *Booke of Hauking*.

Among the poems in the 1567 edition of the *Epitaphes* are two in which Turbervile seems to anticipate his trip into Russia more than a year later.[32] These are "A Letter sent by *Tymetes* to his Ladie *Pyndara* at the time of his departure," and her an-

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27 Chalmers's *English Poets*, II, 579.

28 We know that some of the "epitaphes" were almost certainly written before then: viz., those of Arthur Broke, who died in 1563, and Sir John Tregonwell, who died in January, 1564/65.

29 The family seat of the Russells was at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire, from which Anne probably set out.

30 Admitted 1557. See Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, London, 1889, p. 28.

31 Conley, *First English Translators*, p. 39.

32 The *Epitaphes* were published in March, 1566/67; Turbervile left England in June, 1568.

swer to the same. He laments that he must take a journey over the sea, but "the Westerne winde doth blowe So full against my back that I of force from hence doe go." Whether Turbervile knew of his appointment as Randolph's secretary and his projected journey so far ahead, or whether he refers to some earlier voyage, planned but never made, we cannot be sure. In his "Farewell to a mother Cosin," he seems to intimate that the Russian trip is the first occasion on which he has left his native country.

Facts concerning this journey may be found in three sources: Turbervile's own poetic epistles to his friends, Edward Dancie, Spencer, and Parker; an account of the voyage of Thomas Randolph, published in Hakluyt's *Voyages*;[33] and a confidential letter from Randolph to Sir William Cecil, dated August 12, 1568, several weeks after their arrival.[34] The voyage was made to negotiate special privileges for an English trading company in Russia and was successful in its purpose. The group of about forty persons, "of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world," set out from Harwich in the ship *Harry* on June 22, 1568, arriving thirty-two days later at St. Nicholas, on the northern coast of Russia. In Randolph's letter to Cecil, he states that they had a fair voyage but that the quality of the ship's stores was miserable. At St. Nicholas he visited a monastery and, though cordially received, found the monks degraded creatures, "more in drink than sobriety, full of superstition, and in his judgment very hypocrites," though they were "ceremonious in their church, and long in their prayers." In Turbervile's epistle to Parker, he also observes that he never saw a "people so beset with Saints yet all but vile and vaine." He portrays the Russian peasantry as completely rude and barbarous, and is much impressed with the savage and absolute despotism of their ruler. In the same vein, Randolph writes in his letter that "the Emperor of late has beheaded no small number of his nobility, causing their heads and bodies to be laid in the streets, to see who

[33] Hakluyt, ed. Glasgow, 1903, III, 102 ff.
[34] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1566-1568, p. 517.

durst behold them or lament their deaths. Divers others have been cut to pieces by his commandment." Randolph intends to be with him as soon as he can, "the sooner to be out of his country, where heads go so fast to the pot." But the formal interview with the Emperor was delayed until the following February and the negotiations were not completed until later, so that the English embassy did not sail for home until the following July, arriving there in September. The narratives thus left us by Randolph and Turbervile form valuable contributions to our knowledge of early Russia with the rude magnificence of its court and the hopeless poverty and barbarism of its peasant class.

That Turbervile's fortunes were improved as he had hoped by this expedition, may well be doubted; certainly, it did not increase his reputation as a soldier or practical man of affairs. We have already quoted the reprimand to the Dorsetshire justices for appointing him a captain in the militia in 1571.[35] And in the introductory poems to *Tragicall Tales* he speaks of grave troubles that have beset him. This book was probably first published in 1574,[36] and to it are annexed the additional *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* of Turbervile. It was followed in 1575 by his last two works, *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking* and *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, the first of which was dedicated to the Earl of Warwick. In the dedication, the author expresses gratitude for many favors from the Earl and Lady Warwick and further states that, "had sicknesse given but some reasonable time of truce sithence my late troubles, I had ere this in Englishe verse published, under the protection of your noble name the haughtie woorke of learned Lucane." In the dedication to his brother Nicholas of *Tragicall Tales*, he refers to "the sorowful sea of my late misaduentures: which hauing the more spedily by your carefull and brotherly endeuour, ouerpassed & escaped, could not but offer you this treatise in lieu of a more large liberalitie." On the title page of the same book, in his commendation of it to Ro. Baynes, and in his introductory

35 *Vide supra*, p. 8.
36 *Vide infra*, p. 37.

poem, he again refers to his "troubles," which have been followed by a period of sickness. These troubles have been a source of much speculation to his biographers, but what must have been their cause has at last been discovered in a document unearthed by B. M. Ward and published in an article involving the relationships of Turbervile and Gascoigne,[37] from which it is here reprinted:

> Pardon to George Turbervyle, gent., for acting in self defence. Whereas by an inquest taken at Blandford Forum, co. Dorset, 24th October 15 Eliz. [1573] before Richard Cheverell alias Frauncys, one of our Coroners in our said county, upon view of the body of Robert Jones there lying dead, it was found by the jurors that George Turbervyle of Winterbourne Whitchurch in the said county, gent., on the 26th of the preceding September, about the second hour of the afternoon, was walking along the Queen's highway between Blandford and Strickland, when at Brienston on the said road the said Robert Jones, filled with great hatred and malice, and planning of malice aforethought to slay the said George on the said road, rode after him, and attacked him at Brienston aforesaid with a sword with which he struck him several times, giving him a wound in the abdomen 3 inches deep, with intent to murder him. The said George fled from him as far as he could, and then gave him two mortal wounds (with a sword worth thirteen shillings) in his right arm, one an inch broad and four inches long, the other an inch broad and two inches across his arm; of which wounds the said Robert died on the spot. And the jurors say that this he did in self defence and not otherwise. Therefore, we have pardoned, and by these presents do pardon, the said George the suit of our peace which to us belongs against the said George, by reason of the death aforesaid.
>
> Witness the Queen at Westminster, 16th November.[38]

The reason for this attempt against Turbervile's life is not known. Ward supposes it to have been the act of a Puritan fanatic who suspected Turbervile of activity in the Catholic cause. This theory is derived by considering our poet to be identical with one G. T., the author or propagator of a pro-Catholic pamphlet entitled *A Treatise of Treasons*, published at Antwerp in January, 1572/73. Besides defending the Duke of Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots, the pamphlet made a

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[37] B. M. Ward, "Further Research on *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*," *Review of English Studies*, IV (1928), 35-48.

[38] Patent Roll (Chancery) 15 Eliz., part XII, mem. 38 (Latin).

violent attack upon two of Queen Elizabeth's councillors, Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon; a copy of it was addressed to Sir Christopher Hatton at Spa, being sent from Antwerp on June 26 and delivered on July 5, with a request that it be given to the Queen. The dedication to the Queen was signed "Your heighness dailie Orator G. T." Upon Hatton's return to England, an attempt was made to assassinate him on October 11, two weeks after a similar attempt against Turbervile. Ward bases his theory upon this coincidence and upon G. T.'s use of the word "Orator" in subscribing his dedication, a use which he believes unique except in the case of George Turbervile, who so employs it five times.[39] Accordingly, he supposes that Turbervile possessed an acquaintance with Hatton and is therefore the probable G. T. who gathered and edited *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, among them Hatton's (?) poems.

Now, we know that Turbervile was acquainted with Gascoigne, who later supplied commendatory verses for his *Booke of Hunting*; and he may well have been the G. T. who gathered and edited *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. But that he was also the G. T. of the Antwerp pamphlet seems very doubtful. Unfortunately, the chief point in Ward's identification is quite inconclusive. The word "orator," applied to a petitioner, was extremely common during the Elizabethan age and was used regularly in entering a plea before the Chancery Court. The reader will find it in the correspondence of Spenser and Gabriel Harvey,[40] also in Harvey's *Fovre Letters concerning Robert Greene*.[41] I have observed one use of it exactly analogous to Turbervile's. Thomas Howell, in dedicating his *Arbour of Amitie* (1568) to Lady Anne Talbot, subscribes himself "Your honours most humble Orator, T. Howell." [42] A word so generally known and used in this way is scarcely sufficient evidence to identify Turbervile with the mysterious G. T. of the Antwerp pamphlet.

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[39] In the dedications of all his books except *Tragicall Tales* and the *Booke of Hunting*.

[40] Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 40.

[41] *The Third Letter*, pp. 56, 66, Bodley Head Reprint.

[42] Reprinted in Grosart's Occasional Issues, VII.

Definite evidence against his authorship of the pamphlet is found in the Queen's proclamation concerning it, dated September 28, 1573, in which it is explicitly stated that those responsible for the pamphlet are rebels who had fled the country after the unsuccessful rebellion of 1569 and had not since returned.[43] Since we know that Turbervile was in England in 1571,[44] he could hardly have been its author, nor need we assume that he was the G. T. who was so active in distributing it.

However, that Turbervile was in sympathy with the Catholics seems very probable. His uncle, James Turbervile, to whom we have referred, was a deprived Catholic bishop. Professor Rollins has pointed out several references to Dorsetshire Turberviles who were suspected Catholics.[45] Perhaps the most interesting is the following extract from the *Acts of the Privy Council.* In a letter dated August 4, 1581, and directed to Viscount Bindon, he is told:

> Touching Tubervile of Beere, who cometh not to the churche, and (as his Lordship writethe) harbourethe one Bosgrave, his Lordship is required, with thassistaunce of some of the Justices of the Peace, etc., in that Shire to repaire uppon the sodaine unto the said house and to apprehende both the [*sic*] Tubervile and Bosgrave, and to searche the house for bookes and other superstitious stuffe, and to commit them to the custodie of the Sheriffe untill he shall receave other order from their Lordships, unles they shalbe hable to putt in good bandes and suerties to her Maiesties use to be forthcominge, and not to departe out of the said house, nor admit the repaire of anie suspected persones before they shall receave other order from hence.[46]

The Bosgrave mentioned was probably James Bosgrave, a Jesuit priest and native of Dorsetshire, who had returned to England from the Continent shortly before this time.[47] Turbervile of Bere was Thomas Turbervile, second cousin to the poet, who seems to have been a persistent offender, from another reference which we find, dated October 10, 1586:

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[43] Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, 1554-1640, ed. 1875, I, 461-462.

[44] *Vide supra*, p. 8.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 532.

[46] *Acts of the Privy Council*, XIII, 150.

[47] *DNB*, V, 420.

Dorchester. Sir John Horsey and Geo. Trenchard to Walsingham. Confession of Thomas Woodcocke sent to London with letters from Tho. Turbervile to Sir John Arundell and others. . . .[48]

This was Sir John Arundell of Lanherne in Cornwall, Thomas Turbervile's kinsman by marriage, who was later forced to remain in London under a charge of recusancy.[49] In 1587, the same Thomas Turbervile appeared before the Privy Council with two of his neighbors to answer charges of maintaining felons and being accessory to felony.[50]

Of course, our poet was not responsible for the acts of his second cousin, but several passages in his own later works indicate his friendship for prominent Catholics. The two most notable of these are his friends, Ro. Baynes and Nicholas Roscarrock. To the former Turbervile commends his *Tragicall Tales* and asks him to supervise their publication. Baynes prefixes commendatory verses to this volume, as also to the *Booke of Hauking*, published in 1575. In each case he signs his name Ro. Baynes and adds the Latin motto, "Qui nihil sperat nihil disperat [*sic*]." Roscarrock is mentioned twice in Turbervile's works, once in a poem urging him to take a wife, and once in "The Authors Epilogue," where his approval is given as the warrant for publishing the later *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*. The poems indicate that Turbervile was on terms of the warmest intimacy with both men.

Now, Ro. Baynes was one Roger Baynes, the author of two rare books:

1. The Praise of Solitarinesse. . . . Imprinted at London by Francis Coldocke and Henry Bynneman, 1577. Qui nihil sperat, Nihil desperat. (The book was dedicated to Sir Edward Dyer.)

2. The Baynes of Aqvisgrane, The I. Part & I. Volume, intitvled Variety. Contayning Three Bookes, in the forme of Dialogues, vnder the Titles following, Viz. Profit, Pleasure, Honovr. . . . Related by Rog. Baynes Gent. a long Exile out of England, not for any temporall respects. *Qui nihil sperat nihil desperat.* Printed at Augusta in Germany M.DC.-

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48 *State Papers, Domestic*, 1581-1590, p. 361.

49 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XVIII, 415; XIX, 393; XXIV, 226; XXVI, 230; XXVIII, 18, 102, 589.

50 *Acts*, XV, 135, 164.

XVII. (A printer's note informs us that it was written some years before in the time of Queen Elizabeth.)[51]

The Latin motto identifies this writer as Turbervile's friend. He was born in 1546, abjured the Protestant religion as a young man and went to the English college at Rheims, arriving there July 4, 1579. He later became Cardinal Allen's secretary and seems to have kept an eye upon the Catholic "invasion" of England, since in May, 1595, we have a letter from Richard Verstegan to Roger Baynes at Rome, discussing the factions in the English College there, the difficulties of Roman priests who try to enter England from the Low Countries, and the execution of one Father Walpole.[52] Baynes died in 1623 and was buried in the English College at Rome.

Nicholas Roscarrock was an equally prominent Catholic. Born in 1549, he attended Exeter College, Oxford, and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1572. On September 16, 1577, he was accused of not going to church. He was a member of a young men's club in London whose purpose was to help priests, being imprisoned sundry times for his activities.[53] In a letter dated November 9, 1580, it is mentioned that

> Wher ther hathe ben of late apprehended by the Lord Hunsdon a dangerous Papist named Nicholas Roscarrocke, not long since arrived here from the partes beyonde the seas, and one Ralf Sherwyn, a massing prieste, both prisonners in the Mareschalsea, forasmuch as the said Roscarrocke, by certen examinacions heretofore taken of certen persons as evel affected towards her Majestie and the presente state, hathe ben detected to have ben a practiser with forreine states and a conveyer of letters bothe abrode and into this Realme, they are therfore required to examyn the said Roscarrocke. . . .[54]

Turbervile's friendship with two such notorious characters seems to indicate a definite Catholic tendency on his part, or certainly a sympathetic attitude toward individuals of that religion. Whether he carried his tendency so far as openly to espouse the Catholic cause, we have no means of knowing, but it seems

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51 *DNB*, III, 456.
52 *State Papers, Domestic*, 1595-1597, p. 39.
53 *DNB*, XLIX, 220.
54 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XII, 264.

rather improbable. His noble patrons were strong Protestants, as was his friend Barnabe Googe, kinsman of Sir William Cecil. And while some of his kinsmen were Catholics, his brother Nicholas was much in the confidence of the Privy Council, being entrusted with numerous commissions to perform, either singly or in company with other Dorsetshire gentlemen.[55] Nicholas was appointed Sheriff of Dorset for the year 1578-1579,[56] and after his death George received at least one commission from the Council, which on March 6, 1585/86, directed George Trenchard, Thomas Hanam, George Turbervile, and Richard Sidway, esquires, to inquire concerning the use of the beer tax at Poole for public works.[57] These brothers may have been entrusted with such commissions in preference to the elder and richer Bere Turberviles because of the latter's known pro-Catholic activities. I should also point out that Turbervile's poems to Baynes and Roscarrock antedate by several years the first references to them in connection with the Catholic cause.

Whatever the nature of Turbervile's religion, we have no grounds for making it the reason for his attempted assassination, which may well have resulted from a quarrel with one of his neighbors. This was assuredly the source of his "troubles," which he tells us caused him to give up his projected translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a task to which he felt himself unequal and for which he recommends Sir Thomas Sackville as one who can do it justice. He states that he had desired to translate it as a mirror in which England might see the great evils arising from internal discord and dissension.[58] With a jesting reference to his failure, Thomas Blenerhasset, in the *Epistle vnto his Friende* preceding the second part of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, says:

> But how hard a thing it is to compell *Clio*, with her boysterous banners, to couch vnder the compasse of a few metered lines. I referre you vnto the good *Turberuile*, who so soone as he began to take the terrible

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[55] *Acts*, VIII, 304; IX, 307; X, 216, 249, 350.

[56] *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, no. IX, p. 39.

[57] *Acts*, XIV, 23.

[58] See the preface to *Tragicall Tales*. Incidentally, this supports Conley's thesis that the government definitely encouraged the translation movement.

treatise of Lucan in hand, he was inforst to vnyoke his steeres, and to make holy day.[59]

Blenerhasset's epistle is dated May 15, 1577, and has been used by Koeppel in dating *Tragicall Tales*.[60] Turbervile was not the only poet to fail in the effort to translate Lucan, since in 1560 his friend Barnabe Googe abandoned a similar attempt.[61]

At some time shortly before the publication of *Tragicall Tales* (ca. 1574), Turbervile was married, when or to whom we do not know. In his poem to Nicholas Roscarrock, he advises his friend concerning matrimony, "an order which myself haue entred now." To him it seems

> A sacred yoke, a state of mickle praise,
> A blessed band, belikt of God and man.

These lines seem to Koeppel to indicate that the poet came upon happier days after his marriage and at last escaped from the "troubles" of which he so bitterly complained.[62] Yet the same poem ends with a bit of cynical jesting, in which he advises his friend not to seek a fair maid but to "imbrace a wife, with wealth and coyne enough."

In the year preceding the attempt upon his life, Turbervile was concerned in a lawsuit against his brother Nicholas. "In Easter 13th year of Elizabeth's reign, Henry Trenchard was vouchee in the case of George Turbervyle, gent., vs. Nicholas Turbervyle, gent., to recover lands in Winterborne Musterton." [63] The poet was probably unsuccessful in this suit, since Hutchins tells us that in 12 Elizabeth Henry Trenchard had license to alienate the manor of Winterborne Musterton to Nicholas Turbervile, "in whose family it continued till it came, by purchase, to Henry Drax, esq., with the rest of their lands." [64] At some time following this he became a landowner and estab-

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[59] *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, I, 348.
[60] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[61] Preface to his *Zodiake of Life* (1560). Quoted in Arber's Reprint of Googe's *Eglogs*, p. 7.
[62] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[63] *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, VI, 124.
[64] Hutchins's *Dorset*, I, 148.

lished a residence at Shapwick, about six miles east of Winterborne Whitchurch, as we learn from two references. In the index to the Statute Merchant Bonds of Dorset, appears the following entry:

> 23 October, 19 Elizabeth. Thomas Lope of Hyde, Dorset, yeoman, and John Lope of Bere Regis, Dorset, yeoman, to George Turbervile of Shapwicke, Dorset, Armiger 200 pounds.[65]

And Hutchins tells us:

> In 15 Eliz. a messuage of 320 acres of land in East Hemsworth, and common for 600 sheep in West Hemsworth, Wichampton, and Shapwicke, were held by John Ryves, who had license to alienate to Thomas Scovile and heirs. 20 Eliz. Thomas Scovile conveyed the premises, either in fee or in trust, to George Turbervile.[66]

Thus our poet seems to have acquired some measure of this world's goods. Perhaps the dowry of his wife was partly responsible for this sudden access of prosperity.

But these were by no means years of unbroken peace for Turbervile. In a letter of August 11, 1577, the Privy Council directed the Marquis of Winchester and the Justices of the Assizes in Dorsetshire to examine a quarrel between Sir Henry Ashley and George Turbervile, gentleman.[67] On January 23, 1579/80, his brother, Nicholas Turbervile, was slain at Cavit Wollent, co. Somerset, by his brother-in-law, John Morgan, who was duly tried and hanged for the crime.[68] The fame of this murder seems to have spread throughout England and to have captured the popular imagination. On March 17, three days after the execution, Richard Jones, a printer of London, was given license to publish "*a dittie of Master* TURBERVYLE *Murthered: and* JOHN MORGAN *that murdered him: with a letter of the said* MORGAN *to his mother, and another to his Sister* TURBERVYLE."[69] The letters were published as long ago as 1858,[70] but

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[65] *Som. & Dors. Notes & Queries*, XII, 206.
[66] Hutchins, *op. cit.*, III, 478.
[67] *Acts*, X, 14.
[68] For an account of this affair, *vide infra*, pp. 88-90.
[69] Arber's *Transcript*, II, 366.
[70] In *Notes and Queries*, series II, vol. VI, pp. 68-69. For discussion, see a letter from Norma H. Hodgson in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, May 15, 1937, p. 380.

the poem, together with an "Answer" in praise of Morgan, has only recently been discovered and reprinted.[71]

Our next reference to George Turbervile is dated August 26, 1580, when the Commissioners for Musters in Dorsetshire informed the Privy Council that they had appointed a new captain for the service in Ireland "in the room of Mr. George Turberville, who was a great spurner of their authority." [72] I have already mentioned the Council's letter of March 6, 1585/86, instructing George Turbervile and others concerning the use of the beer tax at Poole. This is the last of such documents which we can feel reasonably sure refers to our poet. The summons to appear before the Privy Council sent to "George Turbervile of Wolbridge" on June 22, 1587,[73] which Seccombe and Rollins consider a reference to the poet, in reality concerns his second cousin, then a young man in his twenties. One later reference occurs, a letter of April 12, 1588, from the Council to the Lord Treasurer:

> Whereas George Turvyle, gentleman, was appointed by the Earle of Warwycke to be the Muster Master in the countye of Warwycke under his Lieutenancy, therefore his Lordship was praied accordinge unto a Privy Seale graunted unto his Lordship for those purposes, to paie or cause to be paied unto the said gentleman, by waye of imprest, the somme of fyveteene poundes after tenn shillinges the daye, to be allowed him for so many dayes as he should be emploied in that service, allowing him for his repaier thether and his retorne hether againe so many daies as should suffice for that jorney.[74]

This is probably a reference to Turbervile the poet, who had been befriended at other times by the Earl of Warwick; however, we should point out that his name occurs nowhere else in just this spelling, while there were other George Turvyles in England.[75]

A very interesting item concerning Turbervile is a copy of

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[71] See Norma H. Hodgson, "The Murder of Nicholas Turberville," *Modern Language Review*, XXXIII (1938), 520-527.

[72] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-1580, p. 673.

[73] *Acts of the Privy Council*, XV, 135.

[74] *Ibid.*, XVI, 31-32.

[75] See Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 67, no. 26, and Bundle 182, no. 19.

his signature, observed by J. P. Collier on the title page of a volume of Sir Thomas More's works, folio, 1557:

> He that feareth not God when he dothe bye his grace knowe his powre shall be shamefullye confounded.
>
> George Turbervyle 1584. nov. 14.[76]

According to the *Sale Catalogue* of Collier's library, p. 25, this item, with a number of others, was included in a set of his *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*. This set is mentioned again in *Book Prices Current*, 1902, p. 632, beyond which I have not been able to trace it.

A fascinating problem in Turbervile's biography is his relations with Spenser. It has been often supposed that Edmund Spenser the poet is the Spencer to whom one of Turbervile's epistles from Russia was addressed, and Koeppel introduces a long argument to prove it.[77] But Spenser was only nine years old when Turbervile left Oxford in 1561 and only sixteen when the latter embarked for Russia. The chances that he is the person addressed in these poems seem slight, especially when we note the large number of Spencers in Dorsetshire and at the Inns of Court.[78] However, the evidence seems to indicate that the two poets became acquainted at some time thereafter.

The suggestion that Turbervile is the original of Harpalus in Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* was also advanced by Professor Koeppel, who offered little definite proof of the assumption.[79] Unfortunately, he overlooked an important piece of internal evidence which supports his identification. Spenser begins his list of poets at the English court with these lines:

> There is good Harpalus, now woxen aged
> In faithfull service of faire Cynthia.

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[76] *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, New York, 1866, IV, 178.

[77] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[78] See indexes to Hutchins's *Dorset*; C. H. Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*; *Lincoln's Inn Records*, Selden Society Publications.

[79] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. See also my article, "The *Harpalus* of Spenser's *Colin Clout*," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIV (1929), 164-167.

In Turbervile's poem "He sorrowes other to haue the fruites of his seruice" occur the lines:

> Euen so fare I poore *Harpalus*
> whome *Cupids* paines deuoure.

This correspondence of names is given added significance by our knowledge that Spenser and Turbervile had many friends in common. Turbervile's patron, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was the brother of Spenser's patron, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, who is the Pyndara of Turbervile's poems, is celebrated in *Colin Clout* under the name of Theana; Spenser also honors her in *The Ruines of Time* and dedicates his *Fowre Hymnes* to her and her sister. The Turberviles of Dorsetshire were intimately associated with Sir Arthur Gorges, the Alcyon of *Colin Clout*, and with his wife, Douglas Howard, upon whose death Spenser wrote *Daphnaïda*. In 1584, when Gorges married Douglas with her mother's consent but against the wishes of her father, Viscount Bindon, we learn that "Mr. George Turbervile" assisted the sheriff in restraining the father from violence toward his wife and her brother.[80] We cannot be sure whether this George was the poet or his second cousin of Woolbridge, then a young man twenty years old. But most of the Turberviles in Dorsetshire seem to have been involved as partisans of Gorges. The account just mentioned was signed by Thomas Turbervile and George Turbervile, along with other witnesses. In this same year, 1584, Viscount Bindon accused Thomas Turbervile of Bere of having connived at the marriage.[81] In 1600, the Turberviles of Woolbridge (George, William, Thomas, Jr., and several kinsmen) are named as active partisans of Gorges in his dispute with his deceased wife's stepfather, who attacked the legitimacy of Gorges's daughter Ambrosia in an attempt to recover her prop-

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[80] Lansdowne MS 43, f. 53. This reference and the two following were furnished me through the courtesy of Miss Helen Sandison, of Vassar College. For an account of the Gorges-Bindon dispute, see her article, "Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Ralegh's Friend," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 645-674.

[81] Star Chamber Proceedings Eliz., H 29/11.

erty.[82] These incidents suggest a continued intimacy between Gorges and the Turberviles, and Gorges's warm friendship with Spenser makes it highly probable that the latter met George Turbervile the poet during Spenser's visit to England in 1589-1590, if indeed the two were not friends of longer standing.

Not the least puzzling point in a study of Turbervile is his literary silence after 1575. On June 16 of that year, he wrote his address to the Reader for the *Booke of Hunting*, after which we have nothing written by his pen. He has some commendatory verses appended to David Rowland's *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1586, but this volume was first licensed in 1567/68, when Turbervile's verses were probably written.[83] In the notes to the fifth book of Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, that author states that the tale of Gineura "is a prettie comicall matter, and hath beene written in English verse some few yeares past (learnedly and with good grace) though in verse of another kind, by M George *Turberuil*." [84] No other mention of this work survives, but Ritson suggests that the knight may have been referring to *The Historie of Ariodanto and Jeneura*, by Peter Beverley, and have confused the authorship.[85] Philip Bliss, in his edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, remarks that "Among Rawlinson's Mss. (Poet 1 and 4) are two copies of a translation of Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloign, by Sir G. T., which is supposed in a ms. note to be the initials of 'Sir George Turberville,' who was certainly, and I think with justice, considered the translator by Dr. Rawlinson." [86] In the introduction to his translation of Tasso,[87] J. H. Wiffen mentions this work as "the unknown translation of Sir George Turbervile, which occupies a middle station between those of Fairfax and Carew." Later scholarship, however, has rejected this identifica-

[82] Star Chamber Proceedings Eliz., S 27/25.

[83] Arber's *Transcript*, I, 378.

[84] Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, ed. 1634, p. 39.

[85] *Bibliographia Poetica*, ed. 1802, p. 371. Malone thought that Harington's reference implied a volume *Comicall Tales* written by Turbervile.

[86] *Athen. Oxon.*, I, 627 ff.

[87] Second edition, 1826, Preface, p. xiii.

tion. Koeppel has made an elaborate study of the two manuscripts and concludes them to be of a later date than the Elizabethan period because of the handwriting, diction, etc., and because the writer of one of them refers in a preface to Sir William Dugdale's *Discourse of Baronage*, a work first published in 1675-1676.[88] Seccombe, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, supports Koeppel's position and ascribes the translation to Sir Gilbert Talbot as a more probable author.[89]

Perhaps the simplest explanation of Turbervile's sudden cessation from literary activity is that he became prosperous enough to live without it and, being married, spent less of his time at the Inns of Court, places more propitious for literary effort than his farms in Dorsetshire. It is also possible, as Professor Conley thinks, that the nobility close to the government withdrew their support from the translation movement not long after 1570,[90] in which case Turbervile would probably have ceased to write. He seems to consider himself primarily a translator and tells us that his poems are all occasional pieces, written as literary exercises or by request of some of his comrades at the Inns of Court. He states that he means "no more with loues deuise to deale" and calls his later *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* "the end of all my worke." From his last two poems, in which these quotations are found, we learn what a great influence his surroundings at the Inns of Court had upon his writings.

After 1588, our knowledge of Turbervile's life ceases until his death, and the date of that event is uncertain. The *Dictionary of National Biography* accepts 1610 as a tentative date, since in 1611 a new edition of the *Booke of Hauking* was brought out by Thomas Purfoot, with the announcement on the title page that it was "heretofore published by George Turbervile, Gentleman," the supposition being that Turbervile would have brought it out himself had he been alive. Sir John Harington, the witty epigrammatist and translator of the *Orlando Furioso*, included

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88 Koeppel, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-69.
89 *DNB*, LVII, 322.
90 Conley, *First English Translators*, p. 117.

among his epigrams an epitaph on Turbervile (Book I, no. 42), as follows:

An Epitaph in commendation of George Turbervill
a learned Gentleman

When times were yet but rude, thy pen endevored
To pollish Barbarisme with purer stile:
When times were grown most old, thy heart persevered
Sincere and just, unstain'd with gifts or guile.
Now lives thy soule, though from thy corps dissevered,
There high in blisse, here cleare in fame the while:
To which I pay this debt of due thanksgiving,
My pen doth praise thee dead, thine grac'd me living.

Professor Rollins skillfully points out that, while Harington died in 1612 and his epigrams were not fully published until 1618, the greater part of them were written about the years 1596-1598 and the latest one that can be dated refers to the execution of Essex, which occurred in 1601 (Bk. IV, no. 10). He therefore concludes that Turbervile's death occurred much earlier than 1610. I suggest 1597 as the correct date, since on April 23 of that year there is recorded a lease by the Commissioners to Troilus Turbervile of Shapwick Parsonage, co. Dorset, for a rental of fifteen pounds, fifteen shillings, four pence; fine five pounds.[91] The lease was renewed three years later.[92] Since we know that George Turbervile held property in Shapwick and in all probability had his residence there,[93] it seems very likely that his nephew is here securing possession of premises left vacant by the poet's death, which in that case probably occurred some time early in 1597.

Rollins has also unearthed two documents on Turbervile previously unknown. One is a couplet, written in long hand and found in Harleian MS 49, fol. 148v:

George Turbervyle

A Turbervyle a monster is that loveth not his frend
Or stoops to foes, or doth forget good turns and so I end.

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91 *State Papers, Domestic*, 1595-1597, p. 396.

92 *Ibid.*, 1598-1601, p. 423.

93 *Vide supra*, p. 21.

The second is a burlesque elegy upon the occasion of his death:

> W^th^ tricklinge teares ye Muses nine, bewaile o^r^ present woe,
> W^th^ Drerye Drops of doleful plaintes o^r^ sobbinge sorrowes shewe,
> Put on y^r^ mo^r^ninge weedes alas, poure forth your plaintes amayne,
> Ringe owte, Ringe out Ring out y^e^ knell of Turbervile whom crewell death hath slaine, whom cruell death hath slaine
> Resurrexit a mortuis, there is holy S^t^ Frauncis, qui olim fuit sepultus, non ipse sed magi hic stultus, so toll the bell,
> Dinge Donge Ringe out his knell.
> Dinge Donge, cease nowe the bell, he loued a pot of stronge ale well.[94]

Certainly, the authors of these two items were not highly impressed with the character of our poet. By looking at Turbervile's epitaph on Richard Edwards, the reader will see that the second poem is an actual burlesque of his style.

This completes the sum of our knowledge of the life of George Turbervile. Scant as it is, we are fortunate that so much has survived from a period in which biographical details were ill preserved and easily forgotten.

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[94] Sloane MS 1709, folio 270 verso. In E. J. L. Scott's *Index to the Sloane MSS in the British Museum*, 1904, p. 358, the elegy is dated about 1605. Professor Rollins informs me that the Latin poem here burlesqued occurs, with the musical notes, in Additional MS 17,786, folio 10.

Part II: THE WORKS OF GEORGE TURBERVILE

EDITIONS AND CHRONOLOGY

The popularity of Turbervile's works is best attested by the number of editions through which they ran. In the following tables I have endeavored to include all known editions of Turbervile's works, together with editions not extant whose existence is postulated from internal evidence or from references in the Stationers' Register. Where editions are listed in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue*, I have given one or two places where they are now accessible; bibliographers mention numerous other editions whose existence or present whereabouts is unknown. The sources of all references are given in the table or in the discussion following. Except for the modern reprints, the printer of each edition is named. Dates marked with a single interrogation point (?) are those of editions known to have existed whose dates are doubtful; a double interrogation point (??) signifies that the edition is not known but is conjectured from the evidence in hand.

Turbervile's *Ovid*

1566/67. Henry Denham. *The fyrste epestle of Ovide.*
(Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, I, 328.)

1566/67. Henry Denham. *An epestle of Ovide beyng the iiijth epestle* &c.
(Arber's *Transcript*, I, 329.)

1567. H. Denham. The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso In English Verse: set out and translated by George Turbervile Gent. with Aulus Sabinus Aunsweres to certaine of the same. Anno Domini 1567.

(Copies in the British Museum, the Huntington Library, the Harvard Library. This edition appears in the Stationers' Register as *the Reste of the Epestles of Ovide.*—Arber's *Transcript*, I, 335.)

1569. H. Denham. The Same.

(British Museum, Huntington Library. In this edition *The Translator to the Captious sort of Sycophants* appears to have been transferred to the end of the volume. See Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Herbert, II, 944.)

1570?. H. Denham. The Same.

(British Museum. This edition is without pagination.)

1583?. John Charlewood. The Same.

(British Museum, Bodleian. This edition is without date. The British Museum Catalogue conjectures 1567?, obviously misled by Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1870, p. 897, where Warton confuses Charlewood's edition with Denham's edition of 1567. He corrects himself in a note. On p. 880, he notices that on January 8, 1583, Denham surrendered to the Stationers' Company his license to print *Ovid's epistles* and other publications. On p. 663, Warton remarks that Ovid's "heroic epistles" were translated about 1582, by George Tuberville [sic]. These references seem to indicate 1583 as the date of Charlewood's first edition. The *Short Title Catalogue* gives 1580?.)

1593?. John Charlewood. The Same.

(In Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1103, is recorded a book published by John Charlewood in 1593, "The Heroycall Epistles of the learned Poet P. Ovidius Naso, &c. as p. 943, &c. X, in eights. George Mason, Esq. Octavo." The reference to p. 943 is to Denham's first edition of Turbervile's *Ovid*; so it is clear that "George Mason, Esq." is a misprint for George Turbervile. This is probably the edition which the British Museum Catalogue attributes to Charlewood, with the date 1605?. This date is evidently erroneous, since Charlewood died in 1593 and his business was closed soon afterward. See Ames-Herbert, *ibid.*, II, 1093.)

1600. Simon Stafford. The Same.

(British Museum, Bodleian. This edition was licensed to Stafford on March 3, 1600, "for one Impression onely and no moo: to print for the Company at vi^{d} in the li [royalty] to th[e] use of the poore."—Arber's *Transcript*, III, 57.)

1605??. J. Charleswood. (See ed. 1593?.)

Reprints

Turbervile's *Heroycall Epistles* has not appeared in its entirety in a modern reprint until 1928, when the Cresset Press, London, issued a beautiful one, with an introduction and glossary by Frederick Boas and illustrations by Hester Sainsbury. The text was based on the first Charlewood edition, with occasional collations with the earlier editions of Denham. From Professor Boas's introduction, we learn that the contents of all extant editions of the *Heroycall Epistles* are identical, though he neglects to mention that *The Translator to the Captious Sort of Sycophants*, which precedes the text in the first edition, is transferred to the end of the volume in Charlewood's first edition.

Turbervile's fifth epistle, *Oenone to Paris*, is reprinted, with the Latin text on the same page, in *Specimens of the Tudor Translations from the Classics*, by O. L. Jiriczek, Heidelberg, 1923.

Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets

1565??. (See discussion below.)

1567. H. Denham. Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets, with a Discourse of the Friendly affections of *Tymetes* to *Pyndara* his Ladie. Newly corrected with additions, and set out by George Turbervile Gentleman. *Anno Domini*, 1567.

(Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, Huntington Library. This edition was licensed to Denham in the Stationers' Register.—Arber's *Transcript*, I, 338.)

1570. H. Denham. The Same.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library.)

1575?. H. Denham. The Same.

(In T. F. Dibdin's *Library Companion*, London, 1824, p. 688, occurs the following statement: "Turbervile's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonetts*, were published in 1567, and again in 1575, small 8vo. A copy of an edition of the date of 1570 is in the *Capel-Closet* in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and another similar one is marked at 21 *l.* in the *Bibl. Angl. Poet.* p. 358." Dibdin evidently knew the two first editions and is not confusing them with that of 1575, which he must have seen. It is not recorded elsewhere.)

1579??. John Charlewood. The Same.

(The rights to Turbervile's *Songes and sonnettes* were transferred by Henry Denham to Richard Jones and John Charlewood on August 31, 1579.—Arber's *Transcript*, II, 359. While no copy of an edition by Jones or Charlewood has survived, it seems improbable that they would acquire the book without intent to publish it.)

1594??. James Roberts. The Same.

(On May 31, 1594, Turbervile's *Songes and sonnetes* were allowed to James Roberts, along with other copies which were John Charlewood's.—Arber's *Transcript*, II, 652. A reference to James Roberts's ownership of the volume occurs in Ames-Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 1032.)

Reprints

Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets was included by Alexander Chalmers in his collection of British Poets, London, 1810, vol. II. The text of this edition is unreliable. Chalmers omitted the table of contents, as well as the brief dedicatory verse. In several instances, the order of the poems is altered, though no others are omitted, while the text and punctuation have been frequently changed. Chalmers used the edition of 1570.

In 1870, J. P. Collier reprinted the *Epitaphes*, &c. in his series of Elizabethan Poetical Miscellanies, basing his text upon the 1567 edition, with one missing leaf included from the 1570 edition. Collier's edition is also inaccurate in its reproduction of the text. Besides numerous changes in spelling, he changes capitals to small letters except where they begin

lines or proper names, and substitutes semicolons for colons. Collier's text is not a page for page reprint.

In George Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, London, 1811, are reprinted several poems from Turbervile's *Epitaphes*.

Turbervile's *Mantuan*

1566/67. Henry Bynneman. *The fyrste iiij^er eggloges of Mantuan, &c.*
(Arber's *Transcript*, I, 334. Note that this entry occurs before the complete *Ovid* and before the first entry of the *Epitaphes*.)

1567. H. Bynneman. The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan, Turned into English Verse, & set forth with the Argument to euery Egloge by George Turberuile Gent. Anno. 1567.
(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library. This edition is entered in the Stationers' Register as *the Rest of the eggleges of Mantuan*.—Arber's *Transcript*, I, 340.)

1572. H. Bynneman. The Same.
(In the Huntington Library.)

1577. H. Bynneman. The Same.
(Listed in Thomas Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Chetham Society Publications, part X, 308-312. No present copy of this edition is known.)

1594. John Danter. The Same.
(Listed in Corser's *Collectanea*, part X, 312; W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, London, 1867, p. 369; Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1870, p. 898.)

1597. John Danter. The Same.
(Listed in Corser's *Collectanea*, part X, 312; Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, Bohn, pp. 1467-1468. Lowndes incorrectly states that a copy of this edition is in the British Museum. He evidently confuses it with the 1567 edition. No copy of the 1597 edition is now known.)

Reprint

A facsimile reprint of the 1567 edition of Turbervile's *Mantuan* was issued in 1937, with a short introduction by Douglas Bush, in the Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints series (New York).

Turbervile's *A Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue*

1568. Henry Bynneman for Leonard Maylard. A plaine Path to perfect Vertue: Deuised and found out by Mancinus a Latine Poet, and translated into English by G. Turberuile Gentleman. *Ardua ad Virtutem via.* Anno 1568.
(In the British Museum. This edition licensed to Leonard Maylard shortly after July, 1567.—Arber's *Transcript*, I, 357. There is no record of any later edition and it has never been reprinted.)

Turbervile's *Tragicall Tales*

1574??. (See discussion below.)

1576?. Abel Jeffs.

(Listed in Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, Bohn, p. 2720; Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, London, 1805-1809, III, 75. See discussion below.)

1587. Abel Jeffs. Tragicall Tales translated by TVRBERVILE In time of his troubles out of sundrie Italians, with the Argument and Lenuoye to eche Tale *Nocet empta dolare voluptus* [*sic*] Anno Dom. 1587.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, Huntington Library.)

Reprint

Only one reprint of *Tragicall Tales* has appeared, Edinburgh, 1837, in a limited edition of fifty copies. The text followed is that of the 1587 edition, the only one extant. The Latin quotation on the title page has been altered to its correct form, *Nocet empta dolore voluptas*. In general, this reprint can be recommended. It follows the text closely, making changes only in cases of obvious misprints. It is not a page for page reprint, but is nearly so, containing 406 pages, while the original edition contains exactly four hundred. These figures include the *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*, which are added at the end of the volume.

Turbervile's *Booke of Hauking*

1575. Christopher Barker. The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking, for the Onely Delight and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen: Collected out of the best auethors, as well Italians as Frenchmen, and some English practises withall concernyng Faulconrie, the contentes whereof are to be seene in the next page folowyng. by George Turberuile Gentleman. NOCET EMPTA DOLORE VOLVPTAS. Anno. 1575.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library, Harvard Library.)

1611. Thomas Purfoote. The Same.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library, Harvard Library, Yale library.)

Turbervile's *Booke of Hunting*

1575?. Christopher Barker. The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hvnting Wherein is handled and set out the Vertues, Nature, and Properties of fiuetene sundrie Chaces togither, with the order and maner how to Hunte and kill euery one of them Translated and collected for the pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen, out of the best approued Authors, which haue written any thing concerning the same: And reduced into such order and proper termes as are vsed here, in this noble Realme of England The Contentes whereof shall more playnely appeare in the Page next followyng.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library. This edition is very often bound with the *Booke of Hauking*, 1575.)

1576. H. Bynneman. The Same.

(For discussion, see p. 64.)

1611. Thomas Purfoote. The Same.

(British Museum, Bodleian, Huntington Library, Harvard Library. Frequently bound with the *Booke of Hauking*, 1611.)

Reprint

A page for page and line for line reprint of the *Booke of Hunting* from the first edition in the Bodleian was included in the Tudor & Stuart Library in 1908. The reprint purports to be exact, except for the correction of a few obvious misprints.

The poems from the *Booke of Hunting* are printed by Hazlitt in his edition of Gascoigne's *Works*, volume II. He supposed Gascoigne to be their author.

Problems of Chronology

Two important problems present themselves in the chronology of Turbervile's works. The first is the order in which his three earliest works appeared and the probable order in which they were written. The *Heroycall Epistles*, the *Epitaphes*, and the *Eglogs of Mantuan* all appeared in 1567, in the order given if we are to trust the entries in the Stationers' Register quoted above. From the colophon at the end of the *Heroycall Epistles*,[1] we learn that the volume appeared March 19, 1567. The first and fourth epistles had already been licensed separately. Shortly after this date, the *Epitaphes* was licensed, and a little later the complete *Mantuan*. But we notice from the table that the first four of the *Eglogs of Mantuan* appear in the Register before either the *Epitaphes* or the complete *Ovid*. This may mean that

[1] This colophon appears in the Huntington Library copy of the *Heroycall Epistles*; the date is lacking in the Harvard Library copy. Professor Rollins (*op. cit.*, p. 518) points out that March 19 would refer to 1567/68, since the new year formally began on March 25; this would force us to assume another edition approximately a year earlier. However, the Elizabethans did not consistently observe March 25 as the beginning of the year. Examples of their failure to do so are: (1) The prefaces to Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* were written by his friend Blundeston in May, 1562, and the work was turned over to the printer; Googe arrived home from Spain during the winter of 1562/63, and his *Eglogs*, etc., were published in the following March, dated March 15, 1563 (Arber's Reprint, p. 8); (2) Gascoigne's *Voyage Into Hollande, Anno 1572*, is so dated despite the fact that the voyage began on March 19, 1571/72, and must have ended within two or three days (*Posies*, ed. Cunliffe, p. 354). It is scarcely possible that these coincidences should be misprints. Accordingly, we may assume that Turbervile's *Heroycall Epistles* appeared on March 19, 1566/67, soon after their appearance in the Stationers' Register, and that there was only one edition of that year. For a similar problem in dating Spenser's *Daphnaïda*, see the Cambridge Spenser, p. 678.

Turbervile had been commissioned to make his translations by two separate printers, Denham and Bynneman, and was working for both simultaneously. But there can be no doubt that the *Ovid* was the first of his books to appear in 1567. In his *Epitaphes:* "To the rayling Route of Sycophants," he tells us that

> For Ouid earst did I attempt the like
> And for my selfe now shall I stick to strike?

In his address "To the Reader" from the same volume, he again refers to "my Translation." No reference to the *Mantuan* occurs.

The title page of the *Epitaphes,* 1567, seems to indicate that the book was published prior to 1567, since it is there stated that the poems are "newly corrected with additions." And in his dedication to the Countess of Warwick, the author definitely mentions an earlier collection of poems "published" and presented to her, which he has now enlarged. A number of the poems in the volume seem to have been addressed to her before her marriage in November, 1565; so we may assign that year as a tentative date for the earlier collection. Whether these first poems were actually printed, however, or were merely shown to Lady Warwick in manuscript, we cannot know; there are no indications of an edition of the *Epitaphes* prior to 1567, except those just mentioned.[2]

All of Turbervile's early books are referred to in his poem "The Authour here declareth the cause why hee wrote these Histories, and forewent the t[r]anslation of the learned Poet *Lucan,*" prefixed to *Tragicall Tales.* He states that Melpomene came to him in a dream and advised him to give up an attempt too great for his powers and to write poetry more suited to his talents:

> 1. As when thou toldest the Shepheards tale,
> that *Mantuan* erst had pend:
> 2. And turndst those letters into verse,
> that louing Dames did send
> *Vnto their lingring mates that fought*
> *at sacke and siege of Troy:*

2 Cf. Collier, *Bibliographical Account,* IV, 170 ff.

3. And as thou didst in the writing of
   thy songs of sugred ioy.
4. Mancynus vertues fitter ore,
   for thee to take in hande,
Than glitering gleaues, and w[r]eakfull warres,
   that all on slaughter stand.

In the light of evidence already presented, this list of Turbervile's works cannot be taken to indicate the order of their composition.

Our second problem in chronology is the date of *Tragicall Tales*. The only early edition extant is that of 1587, but abundant evidence points to a still earlier edition. Thomas Blenerhasset, in his letter of May 15, 1577, refers to Turbervile's failure to complete his translation of Lucan; the poet's brother, Nicholas, to whom the volume was dedicated, was murdered in January, 1579/80; Roger Baynes, who contributed commendatory verses, left England in 1579; Nicholas Roscarrock, at whose instance Turbervile says the appended *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* were printed, was in prison as a Catholic sympathizer from 1581 to 1586/87 and would not be likely to add to the popularity of a book through the use of his name.[3] We are thus able to assume an earlier edition, probably before May, 1577. In Edmund Malone's copy of the *Tales* occurs the following note: "There was a former edition of the Tales in 1576."[4] This date is also given in *Censura Literaria*, which is quoted by Lowndes.[5] But Lowndes adds the information that the edition was printed by Abel Jeffs, 1576, and that it was 16mo, while the 1587 edition is correctly described as small 8vo. If Lowndes is giving an accurate reference, he must have seen a copy of the 1576 edition or have communicated with someone who had. What evidence there is favors this date.

But Professor Rollins argues strongly, and I think correctly, that there must have been an edition of *Tragicall Tales* before

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[3] For these details, see my biography of Turbervile.

[4] Koeppel, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Malone's copy was of the 1587 edition and is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

[5] *Vide supra*, p. 33.

the appearance of the *Booke of Hauking* in 1575.[6] The latter book is not included by Turbervile in the list of his works, already quoted, prefixed to *Tragicall Tales*. And in dedicating the *Booke of Hauking* to the Earl of Warwick, he remarks that "Had leysure answered my meaning, and sicknesse giuen but some reasonable time of truce sithence my late troubles, I had ere this in Englishe verse published, vnder the protection of your noble name the haughtie woorke of learned *Lucane*." The title page of *Tragicall Tales*, 1587, bears the words, "translated by TVRBERVILE In time of his troubles," and in the dedication to Nicholas Turbervile, he refers to "the sorowful sea of my late misaduentures." In the prefatory poem "To his verie friend Ro. Baynes," he asks that gentleman to see the volume through the press and indicates that he is much troubled by sickness, which was troubling him even while he was making his translation.

> For in my life I neuer felt such fittes,
> As whilst I wrote this worke did daunt my wittes.
> (ll. 27-28)

These references seem to indicate that Turbervile wrote the work while still troubled with the wound received in his attempted assassination in September, 1573, and the date of composition of *Tragicall Tales* can therefore be conjectured as 1574. The words "late troubles" in the *Booke of Hauking* seem to indicate that that volume was written after *Tragicall Tales* and to strengthen the argument for prior publication of the *Tales*.

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[6] Rollins, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-524.

THE HEROYCALL EPISTLES OF OVID

The tremendous vogue of Ovid among the Elizabethans[1] reflects itself in the popularity of Turbervile's *Heroycall Epistles*, which, as we have seen in the last chapter, was printed at least six times. The contemporary influence of the volume must have been large, though it is unprovable, since a reader can seldom tell whether other writers are referring to a translation or to the original Latin. A work so popular in its own day has some interest for our own, and students will find here, not only an early example of careful and scholarly translation, but also the fifth instance of blank verse published in English.

Turbervile's experiments with verse forms deserve our particular attention. His book contains twenty-four epistles in all, the twenty-one by Ovid and three Answers attributed to Aulus Sabinus. Twelve of the epistles are translated in poulter's measure (alternating twelve and fourteen syllables to the line), six in the straight fourteen-syllable line, and six in blank verse. But the thing which surprises us most is the astonishing exactness with which the first two types are employed to render Latin elegiacs into a corresponding number of English lines. In *Briseis to Achilles*, the most loosely translated of all the epistles, the number of lines is increased by 18; in *Deianira to Hercules*, by 7; in *Sappho to Phaon*, by 6; and in *Phaedra to Hippolytus*, by 4. Of the remaining epistles in these two meters, six are translated line for line, four increase the number of lines by one, and four increase the number of lines by two. As might be expected, in the blank verse the number of lines has been expanded somewhat more. Such a number of correspondences indicates a definite method of work on Turbervile's part, which may best be observed by comparing his text with the original.

The *Heroides* of Ovid, as well as Sabinus's Answers, is written throughout in elegiac distichs; i.e., hexameter lines alternating with pentameters. The result is that each distich has a certain

[1] See Clyde B. Cooper, *Some Elizabethan Opinions of the Poetry and Character of Ovid*, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914, p. 4.

epigrammatic quality and completeness in itself, much like the heroic couplets of eighteenth century English writers. Turbervile evidently felt this quality in the elegiac and determined to preserve it, for he almost invariably translates each distich as a separate entity. He may change the word order within the distich and translate part of Ovid's first line in his second line, or he may require three or four lines to translate the distich; but seldom (rarely in blank verse, never in other forms) does he run part of one distich over into a line where it is combined with part of another. Perhaps this is best made clear by an illustration, which is chosen from *Briseis to Achilles:*

Neve meos coram scindi patiare capillos
et leviter dicas: "haec quoque nostra fuit."
(ll. 79-80)

Ne banish me mine ease,
ne suffer hir to teare
In spitefull wise, my golden locks,
and rent my crisped heare.
In silence to thy selfe
say: this was once my loue,
As th' other is my wedded spouse
whose rigour I reproue.
(ll. 85-88)

Here Turbervile translates Ovid's first line by two of his own (four as printed);[2] then, having rendered the second half of the elegiac in one line, he adds a wholly extraneous and useless line of his own to complete the couplet, so that the next Latin distich may correspond exactly with an English couplet. This practice, applied to couplets in poulter's measure and in "fourteeners," is equally applicable to individual lines in his blank verse, though we occasionally find there a variation from his established practice. In the latter part of the book, Turbervile learns to avoid such useless interpolations as mentioned a moment ago, by translating the Latin distich into a triplet, or three successive riming lines, bracketing them in the text after the approved

[2] It should be noted that each of Turbervile's twelve- and fourteen-syllable lines is printed as two, being divided at the caesura, which occurs after the sixth syllable in one type, after the eighth in the other. The sole reason for this is the narrowness of the page.

manner of his day. This device proved a great space-saver and enabled him to attain a more exact translation, while not abandoning his policy of translating each distich separately. Thus all of Sabinus's *Answers* are expanded by one line each in the translation, and in each case the increase results from the use of a triplet.

Turbervile began his translation in English "fourteeners," possibly prompted by Arthur Golding, who was using that meter with eminent success in translating the *Metamorphoses*. But he soon found that the twenty-eight syllables in one of his couplets were not always needed to translate one of Ovid's distichs. He was constantly compelled to fill out the couplet with superfluous words or with dangling phrases, such as "though euery thing be well," "which mighty Joue forfend," which have no equivalent in the Latin text. As his ideal throughout the *Heroycall Epistles* is exactness and a literal translation wherever possible, he turned more and more often to a couplet two syllables shorter, poulter's measure.[3] This "jog-trot" form of verse, popularized by the Earl of Surrey and still familiar in many religious songs, was the closest equivalent he could find to the Latin distichs which he was translating, and he uses it very successfully, leaving out practically nothing of Ovid and inserting very little of his own. Professor Boas considers that he handles this form of verse more skillfully than any other type.[4] However, a frequent source of embarrassment was the fact that in the elegiac the first line is longer than the second, while in poulter's measure the reverse is true. Accordingly, we find that Turbervile often transfers one or two words in Ovid's first line to the second line of his own couplet, as in the following examples from *Briseis to Achilles:*

Differri potui; poenae mora *grata fuisset.*
ei mihi! discedens oscula nulla dedi.
(ll. 13-14)

[3] "The commonest sort of verse which we use now adayes (*viz.* the long verse of twelve and fourtene sillables) I know not certainly howe to name it, unlesse I should say that it doth consist of Poulters measure, which giueth xii. for one dozen and xiiii. for another" (Gascoigne, *Certayne Notes of Instruction*, in *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 472).

[4] F. S. Boas, Introduction to the *Heroycall Epistles*, Cresset Press Reprint, 1928. The same opinion is voiced by an anonymous reviewer in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, January 17, 1929.

I might haue stayde a while,
deferring of my wo
Had earned thanks, I did not kisse
my Lord Achilles tho.
(ll. 13-14)

Si progressa forem, caperer ne nocte timebam
quamlibet ad Priami munus itura nurum.
(ll. 19-20)

To issue out by night
of foes I stood in dread:
Though if *I had beene caught*, I should
to Troian Dames beene lead.
(ll. 19-20)

It is inevitable that, in subjecting himself to such a mold, the poet should fall into occasional clumsiness of expression or vagueness of meaning. The difficulties of changing the word order, giving a correct translation, and yet producing a satisfactory couplet with rimes at their proper places, were too great to be overcome in all instances. Occasionally, Turbervile translates a line with literal exactness, yet the meaning is lost to us for a moment, because of a construction unfamiliar in our tongue. However, the number of these instances is surprisingly small, when we consider the magnitude of the task, and very few of the lines are unintelligible. The difficulties of the literal translator in verse have been well set forth by Dryden, speaking of Latin poetry in general and the *Heroides* in particular. He says:

'Tis almost impossible to Translate verbally, and well, at the same time; For the Latin, (a most severe and Compendious Language) often expresses that in one word, which either the Barbarity, or the narrowness of Modern Tongues cannot supply in more. . . . 'Tis much like dancing on Ropes with fetter'd Leggs; A man may shun a fall by using Caution, but the gracefulness of Motion is not to be expected.[5]

Turbervile undoubtedly sacrifices grace to accuracy in a number of cases, yet withal he reproduces his original satisfactorily and occasionally gives us verse of a surprisingly good quality.

Of more interest to the general reader will be the epistles

[5] *Ovid's Epistles, translated by several hands, with Preface by Mr. Dryden*, London, 1680. Among the translators are Dryden, Otway, Mrs. Aphra Behn, Nahum Tate, and Thomas Rymer. The volume had at least eight editions.

translated into blank verse, which, in my opinion, constitute the best poetry in the volume. Turbervile obviously used the verse as an experiment, one that he unfortunately did not continue; for, while his work suffers by comparison with the geniuses who succeeded him, it is quite up to the standard set by his four predecessors in the form, with whose writings he must have been familiar.[6] His blank verse has none of the metrical irregularities which mar Surrey's translations from the *Aeneid*, and though it lacks the flexibility attained by later writers, it serves his purpose of translation admirably. Released from the bondage of rime and the cramping influence of the couplet, the poet attains a freer and more spontaneous utterance, without sacrificing the accuracy of his rendering.

Since their lines are shorter, it is natural that the blank verse epistles should expand the number of lines from the original more than the other two forms used by Turbervile. But the poet does not abandon his principle of translating each distich as a separate entity. Most often he translates line for line; frequently, he uses two lines to translate one from the Latin, and even more commonly, three lines to translate an elegiac distich. When his translation is line for line, the verse is necessarily elliptical and closely packed, with a resultant quickening of the movement which sometimes brings good results. As an example of Turbervile's powers of condensation, we may quote the following lines from *Canace to Macareus:*

Cum super incumbens scissa tunicaque comaque
    pressa refovisti pectora nostra tuis,
et mihi "vive, soror, soror o carissima," aisti;
    "vive nec unius corpore perde duos!
spes bona det vires; fratri nam nupta futura es.
    illius, de quo mater, et uxor eris."
Mortua, crede mihi, tamen ad tua verba revixi:
    et positum est uteri crimen onusque mei.
(ll. 57-64)

[6] The earlier specimens of English blank verse are: (1) Surrey's *Aeneid*, Bks. 1 and 4, 1557; (2) two poems by Nicholas Grimald in *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557 (Arber, pp. 120-125); (3) *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, by Sackville and Norton, 1561; (4) *Jocasta*, by Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh, acted at Gray's Inn in 1566.

When thou, with garments rent and toren locks,
Relieued with thy brest my dying limmes,
And saidst. O sister liue, liue sister deare,
Ne in one corse destroy thou bodies twaine.
Let hope reduce thy force, that brothers spouse
Shalt be, and wife to him by whome thou art
A Mother made. In fayth I was reuiude
At those thy cheerefull words, that lay astraught,
And was releast of griefe and gylt at once.
(ll. 65-72)

The first two distichs are translated line for line, while the last two are expanded from four lines to five, affording one of the rare instances in which Turbervile begins the translation of a distich in the middle of a line. But the line for line translation is not always satisfactory, and the requisite economy of words frequently leaves us in doubt of the meaning, as in the following extract from the same epistle:

Ille Noto Zephyroque et Sithonio Aquiloni
imperat et pennis, Eure proterve, tuis.
imperat heu! ventis, tumidae non imperat irae,
possidet et vitiis regna minora suis.
(ll. 13-16)

Hee checks the Southren winde, and Zephyrus,
With Northren Aquilo he keepes a coyle,
And (Eurus eake) thy stubborne wings he rules.
He maisters all the windes, not swelling wrath,
Vnto his vice, his conquerde kingdome yeeldes.
(ll. 17-21)

The first distich is translated by three lines, which are perfectly clear; in the second, one is not likely to guess without looking at the Latin that "wrath" is intended as a second object of "maisters" and that the last line should be taken in a figurative sense to mean that his kingdom is less powerful than the strength of his own temper. However, these obscurities represent Turbervile at his worst; as a whole, the blank verse epistles make very good reading.

This blank verse is important because of its early place in the development of that verse form. Turbervile's handling of the two other forms suggests a significant possibility: that poulter's

measure attained its popularity because it was the closest English equivalent of Latin elegiac verse, while the slightly longer "fourteeners," also used to translate elegiac distichs, were a closer equivalent of straight Latin hexameters. If this theory is true, the struggles of the early translators for accurate English renderings of their Latin originals must be considered to have had a profound effect upon the course of English poetry.

THE EGLOGS OF MANTUAN

Perhaps nothing has been so efficacious in keeping the name of Mantuan alive as the fact that he is mentioned by Shakespeare. In the fourth act of *Love's Labour's Lost* occur the following lines:

> *Jaquenetta:* Good Master parson (*giving a letter to Nathaniel*), be so good as read me this letter: it was given me by Costard, and sent me from Don Armado: I beseech you, read it.
>
> *Holofernes:* Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat, and so forth. Ah! good old Mantuan. I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:
>
> —Venetia, Venetia,
> Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.
>
> Old Mantuan! old Mantuan! Who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.
> (IV, ii)

The Latin quotation is the first line and one word of the second of Mantuan's first Eclogue.

The life of Baptista Spagnuoli, or Joannis Baptista Mantuanus, has been so ably written by Professor Mustard in his modern edition of the *Eclogues*[1] that a brief reference here will suffice. Mantuan was born in 1448, and at the age of eighteen entered the Carmelite Monastery at Mantua, in which order he rose high, being six times elected Vicar-General, and in 1513 General, of the entire Order. Much of his energy he devoted to an attempt at the reform of abuses in the Church, a reform which his ninth Eclogue shows was sadly needed. He was a poet of great industry and is said to have published more than 55,000 Latin verses, as well as numerous prose works. The *Eclogues* was a comparatively early work, being written before the author was twenty, but he revised it in later life. His popularity with his contemporaries was tremendous, and before his death in 1516, the Marquis of Mantua ordered his statue to be erected beside that of Virgil.

The *Eclogues* of Mantuan was promptly imitated in English

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[1] W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, Baltimore, 1911.

by Alexander Barclay about 1514, in his five *Egloges*,[2] and in 1518 Mantuan was prescribed as part of the course of study in St. Paul's School, London.[3] But his popularity seems to have declined somewhat during the middle of the century, and Turbervile's translation of 1567 points to a revival of interest in his work. This conclusion is reached by noticing the number of editions published in England before 1640, as shown by Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue*. After 1526, not a single edition of the Latin Eclogues was printed in England until 1569, when one was issued by Thomas Marsh, a London printer. A second edition was published in 1572, and thereafter editions appear at frequent intervals until the middle of the next century.[4] The British Museum Catalogue tells a similar story. The Museum possesses seventeen editions of the *Eclogues*, printed between 1498 and 1520, in whole or in part (all printed on the Continent); but the Museum owns only one edition printed between 1520 and 1573, "Brixiae, 1545." Later editions listed are those of 1573, 1582, 1627, 1649, 1652, etc.

Professor Mustard quotes literally dozens of references which show Mantuan's far-reaching influence upon English poets and which also prove that his *Eclogues* were used as a text for the common schools. But the earliest of such references, after that of 1518, is to Barnabe Googe's *Eglogs*, 1563, which are obviously modeled upon Mantuan;[5] references occur in 1579, the year of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, and become more frequent thereafter as we reach the seventeenth century. Milton is perhaps the last great figure to be strongly influenced by him. From these facts it would appear that, while Mantuan was probably read throughout the sixteenth century, a sudden revival of his popularity occurred at about the time of Elizabeth's accession

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[2] A reprint of Barclay's *Certayne Egloges* was issued by the Spenser Society in 1885. The fourth and fifth eclogues are imitated from Mantuan, while the title page informs us that the first three are taken from Aeneas Sylvius.

[3] Mustard, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[4] The English editions to 1640, as listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*, occur in 1523, 1526, 1569, 1572, 1573, 1582, 1590, 1627, 1632, 1634, 1635, 1638.

[5] In 1560? appeared "A lamentable complaynte of Baptista Mantuanus," translated by J. Bale.

to the throne, a popularity which, according to Dr. Johnson, he maintained throughout the next century.[6]

It is difficult to determine just why this should be so, but we may suspect that Mantuan's sudden access of popularity about 1560 was largely due to the contents of his ninth Eclogue. This Eclogue is nothing more nor less than a direct attack upon the papal court at Rome and the many abuses among the clergy there. The young priest, in his allegorical guise of a shepherd, leaves his native pastures (Mantua) and sets out for Rome, of which he has heard such marvelous things. But he finds the shepherds there entirely mercenary and interested in their own well-being, leaving the sheep to starve. They take him in as men snare a bird, strip him of all his possessions, then release him. He returns home and reports his adventures, saying that Rome is in decay, that all its glory is but a glittering show. Here at home is one shepherd he can trust, Falco, who is zealous in the care of his sheep. The Eclogue is well summed up in Turbervile's rendering of the Argument:

> Here Faustul hauing throughly tryde
> the nature of the Romaine ground:
> The vilenesse of the soyle, and Shep-
> hierds filthy manners doth expound.

One readily sees how, to the early Elizabethan, this would appear a powerful anti-Catholic document. Rome is denounced by name and its abuses set forth with no gentle hand. Spenser used this Eclogue as the basis of the September number of his *Shepheardes Calender*, copying all essential details except the specific reference to Rome; E. K. adds this in an introductory note by informing us that the poet is setting forth "abuses . . . and loose living of popish prelates." Milton also uses it in his famous lines against the corrupt clergy.[7] The value of such a poem to their cause could hardly be lost upon the Protestant court of Elizabeth; it is equally obvious that her Catholic predecessor, Mary, would have disapproved of it. This affords a pos-

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[6] *Lives of the Poets:* "Ambrose Philips." Cf. Mustard, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[7] *Lycidas*, ll. 112-131.

sible explanation for the suddenness with which Mantuan bloomed into favor.

If such an explanation be the true one, it also gives us the reason why Turbervile failed to translate the tenth Eclogue, or at least to publish it. This is an allegorical debate between the two branches of Mantuan's order, the Observantes, or Discalced Carmelites, a reform group who followed strictly the oldest regulations of their order, and the Conventuals, who followed a mitigated rule. The first group is represented by Batrachus, the second by Myrmix, and they debate the latter's changes from the old regulations of the Carmelites. Two other shepherds, Candidus and Bembus, act as umpires. Batrachus's plea is for a return to the old order of things, and he is given all the best of the argument, Myrmix serving more as a foil to his speeches than anything else. I am giving a free translation of some of Batrachus's lines:

> They who dare to change the old rites by their own judgment, and who subject their course of life to no laws; it is these, O Myrmix, who breed civil wars.
>
> (ll. 22-24)

> While we lived as one, while the flock was common to us both—alas, to me how great a grief—alas, how many injuries the sheep endure. Then it was not permitted to dip the flock in the river nor to shear their coats at certain times, as is now the custom. Thorns now rake the sheep, brambles scratch their bared backs; the skin becomes rough with mange, the decaying moisture of disease and ulcers spread through the entire body. Therefore, it greatly concerns the sheep what food they eat, what waters they drink, and in what places they abide.
>
> Tell me, Myrmix, tell me, why has the wool lost its old color? What has made these new coats for the flocks? Why is the sheep black that in better years was fair? Changed customs have changed their coats.
>
> (ll. 96-109)

When the debate threatens to become a quarrel, the umpires interrupt it and give their judgment, thus:

> *CANDIDUS:* When it is time to lay down enmities, again your want of sense excites new quarrels. Shall this strife therefore remain forever, with perpetual hatreds? What sickness of the head, what insanity vexes you? Is it not shameful to debate these trifles before so great a judge? There-

fore, hear with equable minds and buried hates finally subdued that which is the judgment of Bembus.

BEMBUS: Follow in the old paths the footsteps of your fathers, and preserve the old ways. Call back the flocks wandering through the valleys and rocky hills, through the lairs of wild beasts. Once again pitch your tents in the old fields.

(ll. 194-204)

While this debate refers to little more than the changes in dress introduced by the younger order of Carmelites, who wore cloaks of a different color, to the Elizabethan mind the allegory could have but one interpretation. The "old way" is the Catholic Church, the "new coats" are the changes introduced by Protestantism (as in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*), and the appeal is to leave off wandering and come back into the fold of the mother church. It is hard to see how such a construction could be avoided. Turbervile's patrons, the Earl and Countess of Warwick, were close to the government and may have commissioned him to make the translation.[8] If so, it is only natural that they should wish to have the very dangerous last Eclogue omitted. This seems to be the most logical reason why it should have been left out; it was not printed in English until Thomas Harvey's translation of the *Eclogues*, in 1656.

The remaining eight Eclogues are upon subjects more or less familiar. The first three constitute a trilogy upon love, in which Faustus and Fortunatus discourse of the benefits arising from honest, i.e., matrimonial, love and the grief arising from too excessive or frantic love. The fourth, which is often quoted, is a savage satire upon the nature of women. The fifth bewails the callous attitude of rich men toward poets and was imitated by Spenser in the October eclogue of his *Shepheardes Calender*. The sixth is a lively debate upon the relative merits of the country and the town. The seventh and eighth are religious in character, recounting the supposed appearance of the Virgin to Pollux, a young shepherd. They seem to have been written when Mantuan was preparing to enter the Carmelite Order,[9] and they

[8] No evidence of this occurs in the volume itself, which is dedicated to his uncle, Hugh Bampfield.

find some echoes in Spenser's July eclogue.[10] Mantuan frequently enlivens his poetry with anecdotes and stories taken from rural life.

Examining Turbervile's translation of Mantuan, we find that it differs from his *Ovid* in many ways, but particularly in the extent to which he has expanded his text. Of the nine Eclogues, five are translated in "fourteeners" and four in poulter's measure. In only one Eclogue, the seventh, has he made any attempt at a line for line rendering; all the others are considerably expanded. This is in a measure owing to haste or carelessness on the part of the translator, but the chief reason is that the couplets which proved so useful in translating Ovid's elegiacs are ill adapted for rendering Mantuan's hexameters. The former are a series of distichs corresponding to the structure of the English couplet; the latter form one continuous flow, abounding in run-on lines and frequently ending sentences in the middle of a line. The difficulties encountered by Turbervile in fitting this verse to his mold are well illustrated by a single example.

Femineum servile genus, crudele, superbum,
lege, modo, ratione caret. confinia recti
neglegit, extremis gaudet, facit omnia voto
praecipiti, vel lenta iacet vel concita currit.
(IV, 110-113)

These Women are a seruile secte,
curst, cruell, puft with pride:
Reiecting lawes, refusing meane,
from reason wandring wide.
They scorne the boundes of better life,
extremes are best in price:
What they attempt is rashly done
and quite without aduice.
A Woman eyther not prouokt
like Leade full lumpish lies:
Or being once stirrde vp, too fast
about hir things she hies.

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[9] Since Pollux is told that he may flee the cares of the world and find a safe retreat in Mt. Carmel.

[10] For detailed studies of the influence of Mantuan upon *The Shepheardes Calender*, see articles by F. Kluge, in *Anglia*, III (1880), 266 ff., and O. Reissert, in *Anglia*, IX (1886), 205 ff.

Here Mantuan's habit of ending a sentence or phrase in the middle of a line has forced the translator to expand the original by one third. In many instances, Turbervile emulates Mantuan's style and himself begins a new sentence in the midst of a line; this almost always results in an awkward expression, since the couplet is ill adapted to such handling.

The comparison of a woman to lead illustrates Turbervile's habit of occasionally making additions of his own to the text. These occur most frequently when he finds some moral sentiment that is pleasing to him and expands it out of all proportion to its importance in the original. There are two instances in which he has omitted lines that are in the original,[11] and twelve passages in which he has shortened Mantuan's version by one line.[12] In general, the translation is inferior to the *Heroycall Epistles*, though it proved quite popular with the Elizabethans, who evidently liked Turbervile's work.

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[11] Mantuan, IV (104), VIII (159-162).

[12] Mantuan, II (39-41), III (57-60), IV (80-81), V (99-100, 117-119), VI (53-60, 63-65, 85-86, 106-110), VII (143-145, 146-148), IX (223-227).

A PLAINE PATH TO PERFECT VERTUE

Dominicus Mancinus, from whose *De Quatuor Virtutibus* Turbervile's *A Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue* is translated, is practically unknown to modern readers, and his name is not usually included in present-day dictionaries of biography. Johannes à Tritheim, a contemporary, gives us the following eulogistic account of him:

> Dominicus Mancinus, a man very learned in sacred writings and excellently well taught in secular literature, excelling in both verse and prose, subtle in thought, and famous for his eloquence. He has written certain approved small works by which his name has become well known. I have read only that tract which he composed in elegant verse,
>
> De passione Christi, lib. 1, *Non hominum laudes, nec.*
>
> He has written this and other things. He is said to be now living and writing various works, under Maximilian, the most noble king of the Romans. The year of our Lord, in which we have written this, 1494.[1]

In an editorial note, we are told that Mancinus, when an old man, addressed to Frederick Severinas, Bishop of Malacca, "his beautiful little book of elegy written of the four Virtues and offices pertinent to living in goodness and blessedness." Two editions are mentioned, Lipsia, 1516, and Helmstad, 1691.[2]

In Marullus's *Epigrammata et Hymni*, 1509, I have observed the following distich:

> In Mancinum
>
> Effigiem quaeris, nec vis Mancine poetam
> Quid? nisi qd' comedit nil statua, hic comedit.

The *De Quatuor Virtutibus* was translated into English by Alexander Barclay, at the request of Sir Giles Alington, Knight. The date of Barclay's translation has been conjectured as 1523.[3] It was republished, with the parallel Latin text, in the collected edition of his works, 1570, and from this edition was reprinted

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[1] Johannes à Tritheim, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, no. 955, p. 229, in Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, Hamburg, 1719. I have translated the Latin account.

[2] This reference is mistaken, since the *Libellus de Quatuor Virtutibus* had appeared long before. The British Museum possesses editions of 1488, 1492, 1496?, 1520?, 1638.

[3] The *Short Title Catalogue* lists another translation of Mancinus, presumably earlier than Barclay's, *The englysshe of Mancyne upon the foure cardynale vertues*, London, 1520?.

by the Spenser Society in 1885.[4] At the end of the Latin text are commendatory verses by Petrus Carmelianus.

Barclay's work, which he calls *The Myrrour of Good Manners*, is really a loose paraphrase of the original, rather than an accurate translation. He inserts long passages of his own and frequently uses the Latin lines as little more than texts for his rime royal stanzas. It is not apparent that he influenced Turbervile's translation.

Mancinus's work is written throughout in Latin elegiacs, and Turbervile in his translation uses the septenarian couplet exclusively. He does not bind himself so closely to the line for line rendering as he did in the *Heroycall Epistles*, and exercises considerable freedom in his division of the elegiac distichs. The opening lines of the *Induction* are sufficient to illustrate his method of work:

Principio omnipotens coelum terramque creavit,
Et statuit propriis cuncta elementa locis.
Hinc coelum ornavit stellis, & gramine terras,
Aëra pennatis, pisce replevit aquas.
Inde hominem faciens similem sibi subdidit illi
Omne animans, terris imperiumque dedit.

First mightie God did make the heauen
and sandie soyle below,
And did the Elements in place,
and setled seates bestow:
Then next he deckt with gleming stars
the heauens face on hie,
With grasse y^e^ ground was trimly tirde
and hues of euery die.
Vnto the fethred Fowles the Ayre
he graunted for their home,
With fish he filde the flapping floods
and byd them there to rome.
Then last of all he shapte a man
full like himselfe to see,
And made all liuing earthly things
his humble thrall to bee.

[4] J. P. Collier informs us that Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, together with his translation of Mancinus and *Certayne Egloges*, was printed about 1550, was licensed for publication in 1567/68, and appeared in 1570 (*Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, London, 1848, I, 174). Shortly before 1568 there was licensed to William Griffith a ballad "agaynste the shippe of fooles," apparently referring to Barclay's work (*ibid.*, I, 171).

Here Turbervile has translated Mancinus's third and fourth lines by four of his own; the others are translated line for line.

For smoothness of verse and clarity of expression, the *Mancinus* is much the best of Turbervile's translations from the Latin. There is here never any doubt as to his meaning, and one looks in vain for those occasional clumsy expressions which mar his *Heroycall Epistles*. Unfortunately, the quality of the work translated is far below that of the former two and accounts for the book's lack of popularity. One soon grows tired of Mancinus's prolonged moralizings. His work is simply a poetic sermon, unenlivened by anecdote or other devices to keep one's interest aroused; it is to be regretted that Turbervile's best efforts were expended upon so barren a body of work.

TRAGICALL TALES

Turbervile's *Tragicall Tales* well illustrates the vogue of Italian fictional writing, which suddenly became very popular in England during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. The immediate occasion of this access of popularity seems to have been the publication in 1559 of François de Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, a selection of Bandello's novels translated into French prose. Shortly after its appearance, Arthur Broke rendered one of its stories into English verse, *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562, a poem which became tremendously popular and which was the source of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.[1] In 1566 and 1567, William Painter's monumental *Palace of Pleasure* was published, a collection of one hundred and one prose tales, chiefly translated from Boccaccio and Bandello, while in 1567 appeared Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, a collection of tales out of Bandello. The well-known *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* appeared in 1576, and similar collections were published until well into the next century.

Broke's poem seems to have furnished the precedent for a perfect flood of "tragicall" histories, not only from the Italian, but from the classical works of Plutarch, Heliodorus, and others, which were combed for the purpose. Besides the work of Fenton, already mentioned, there appeared in 1563 *The Tragicall and True Historie Which Happened Betwene Two Englishe Lovers*, by Bernard Garter,[2] and, in 1567, James Sandford's *Amorous and Tragicall Tales*, largely from Plutarch and Heliodorus; in 1574?, Turbervile's *Tragicall Tales*; in 1577, Robert Smyth's *Foure Straunge, Lamentable and Tragicall Hystories* (three of them from Bandello); and in 1578, Richard Tarleton's *Tragical Treatises*. These constitute a formidable array of sorrowful stories, and they are by no means all.[3]

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[1] Broke's poem was published by the New Shakspere Society in 1875, and by J. J. Munro in 1908.

[2] Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Dibdin, London, 1810-1819, IV, 435; licensed to Tottel in 1564/65 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 267).

[3] The last three works mentioned are discussed in Mary Augusta Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, New York, 1916.

One must consider Turbervile associated with this Italian revival from the beginning. We know from his epitaph on Arthur Broke that he was a friend of that author and admired his work. He has commendatory verses printed before Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, and James Sandford prefixed verses to his translation of Mancinus. He was also a friend of Gascoigne, the earliest translator of Italian drama;[4] and his own volume of metrical tales gains added importance when considered in relation to the movement of which it was a part.

Tragicall Tales, which the title page informs us was translated "out of sundrie Italians," consists of ten verse narratives, seven of them taken from Boccaccio's *Decameron*: nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10. Of the three remaining tales, nos. 5 and 8 are found in Bandello's *Novelle*, while no. 2 has its ultimate source in Plutarch's *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, probably being taken by Turbervile from an intermediate Italian translation. Recently, Mr. René Pruvost has traced all three tales to Mambrino da Fabriana's *La Selva* (edition of Lyons, 1556), an Italian translation mainly from the Spanish *Silva* of Pero Mexia. Mr. Pruvost has made a careful analysis of the tales and of their variant versions in several languages, basing his conclusion upon slight but fairly convincing textual differences.[5]

In general, Turbervile's versions are as correct as we should expect of an author who is translating from prose to verse; he usually follows his text fairly well and changes it in no essential detail except that he anglicizes proper names. Occasionally, when material of his own is inserted, it is italicized in the text. For each tale he composes an "argument" and an "envoy." I here give a short table of the several tales, with their original authors and titles, the verse forms used by Turbervile, and other notes upon his translation:

1. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, V, 8. *Nastagio Degli Onesti*, etc. Translated in six-line pentameter stanzas. Turbervile gives a very free transla-

[4] *The Supposes*, by Gascoigne, and *Jocasta*, by Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh. Both were acted at Gray's Inn in 1566 and published in 1572.

[5] Pruvost, "The Source of George Turbervile's *Tragical Tales*, Nos. 2, 5, and 8," *Review of English Studies*, X (1934), 29-45.

tion but follows Boccaccio's story, simply expanding it. He christens Nastagio's mistress Euphymia; her name is not given in the original. Near the end, when she sends Nastagio a letter, Turbervile composes and inserts the letter, a long epistle written in a different meter, poulter's measure. After her signature, he quotes the following lines, which are from Petrarch:

Guerra el mio stato, dira, e di duol piena.
Vegghio, penso, ardo, piango.[6]

An earlier translation of this tale appeared in 1569, *A Notable Historye of Nastagio and Trauersari*, by C. T., now supposed to be Dr. Christopher Tye. J. P. Collier quotes some extracts from this work, which he supposed to be an earlier edition of Turbervile's poem; a comparison of the two proves this to be impossible, as they are not even in the same meters.[7]

2. Mambrino, *La Selva*, IV, 11. Ultimate source in Plutarch, *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, no. 19, *Aretaphila*. Poulter's measure. Turbervile's tale is a close paraphrase of his original, omitting nothing and adding no essential detail.[8]

3. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, X, 4. *Messer Gentile de' Carisendi*, etc. Poulter's measure. A close and fairly accurate translation.

4. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV, 9. *Messer Guiglielmo Rossiglione*, etc. Poulter's measure. In one instance, Turbervile has inserted seven lines of his own, printing them in italics; otherwise, it is a close rendering of the original.

5. Mambrino, *La Selva*, III, 23. Also in Bandello, III, 18. The story of Alboin and Rosamund. Ballad stanza. Eight lines inserted by Turbervile are printed in italics.

6. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV, 4. *Gerbino*, etc. Ballad stanza. A fairly close, though somewhat expanded, translation. Four lines which are not in the original are printed in italics.

7. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV, 5. *I fratelli dell' Isabetta*, etc. The famous Pot of Basil story. Ballad stanza. A fairly close rendering. One slight mistranslation, ll. 277-280. Turbervile inserts unitalicized lines of his own in ll. 85-88, 122-123, 149-152, 410-416.

8. Mambrino, *La Selva*, IV, 6. Also in Bandello, III, 5. Ultimate source in Plutarch, *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, no. 15, *De Micca et Megistone*. Ballad stanza. A fairly close rendering. Ll. 185-212 are inserted by Turbervile, and several other short passages of his own are printed in italics.

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[6] Sonetto 131. Turbervile has combined the seventh line and part of the fifth in one quotation. The original quatrain reads:

"Vegghio, penso, ardo, piango, e chi mi sface
Sempre m' è inanzi per mia dolce pena;
Guerra è 'l mio stato, d'ira e di duol piena;
E sol, di lei pensando, ò qualche pace."

[7] Collier, *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, I, 202; *Bibliographical Account*, III, 25; IV, 177.

[8] Koeppel (*op. cit.*, p. 51), who first noticed the resemblance of the story to Plutarch, inexplicably confuses the Nicocrates of Plutarch's story with an Isocrates supposed to be in Turbervile's tale. This is an oversight; the name is Nicocrates in both instances.

9. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV, 7. *La Simona ama Pasquino*, etc. Ballad stanza. A close translation, except for ll. 137-156, which are inserted by Turbervile.

10. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV, 8. *Girolamo ama la Salvestra*, etc. Ballad stanza. A fairly close translation, except for ll. 173-184, 390-402, which are inserted by Turbervile.

A most interesting fact about this volume is that it contains the only instances of the ballad stanza occurring in Turbervile's works. This stanza is of course formed from septenarian couplets by dividing each line at the caesura following the eighth syllable. This is done regularly in Turbervile's other works, because of the narrowness of the page, but there is no division into stanzas, while the second half-lines are well indented and begin with small letters; they are obvious continuations of the lines just above them. But in this volume such verse is divided into four-line stanzas, alternating eight and six syllables to the line; all lines begin with capital letters and none are indented except the first, which indicates the stanza divisions. This practice is not followed in *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*, which is appended to the volume.[9]

Tragicall Tales was not Turbervile's most popular work, nor is it his best; but it continued to be read until the end of the century, as is shown by the quotations from it in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, 1600.[10] It will always remain interesting as one of a group which, collectively, forced English literature into new channels and became the greatest single source of Elizabethan drama, the crowning glory of the age.

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[9] An interesting review of *Tragicall Tales*, prompted by the 1837 reprint, occurs in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1843, II, 45-48.

[10] Charles Crawford, "*Belvedere or The Garden of the Muses*," *Englische Studien*, XLIII (1911), 198 ff. Mr. Crawford states that he has identified twenty quotations from *Tragicall Tales* in *Belvedere*, but does not specify the lines.

THE BOOKE OF FAULCONRIE OR HAUKING

As a pioneer in compiling handbooks of sport, a type which reached its literary culmination in Walton's *Compleat Angler*, 1653, Turbervile deserves an honorable place. His companion volumes on hawking and hunting were popular and help us to understand better the age in which he lived.

The exercise of falconry, "the sport of kings," though of great antiquity, retained its popularity undiminished throughout the sixteenth century.[1] To the student of Elizabethan literature, the most interesting aspect of falconry is the vocabulary of terms peculiar to it, which find so large a place in the poetic and dramatic works of the time, and an understanding of which is essential. The mistake most commonly made today is in the sex of the falcon,[2] which is feminine; the male hawk is always denoted by the addition of the word "tercel" or "tassell." A hawk was always carried on the wrist, hooded; when game was sighted, the hood was removed and the hawk allowed to pursue it. The "lure" was a device, usually a decoy bird, carried by the falconer to attract his hawk back to his wrist. A "haggard hawk" was one that flew readily after any sort of bird and would "stoop" to every man's "lure," a fact which constitutes the entire point of poems by Turbervile and Richard Edwards, and of passages in *Othello* and *The Taming of the Shrew*.[3] There were hawks of all sizes and degrees of value, the "falcon gentle" being the largest and the "eyas" the smallest type. Thus, when Juliet cries, "O, for a falconer's voice To lure this tassel-gentle back again," [4] she is comparing her lover to the noblest of the male hawks. And the famous reference to the child actors in *Hamlet*, "An aery of children, little eyases," [5] is quite incomprehensible until

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[1] For discussions of falconry, see J. E. Harting, *Hawks and Hawking* (reprint from *The Zoologist*, London, 1880); D. H. Madden, *A Chapter of Medieval History*, London, 1924; and Charles Homer Haskins, in *Speculum*, II (1927), 240-246. For a bibliography of books on falconry, see J. E. Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, London, 1891.

[2] Tennyson thus errs in *The Falcon*.

[3] *Othello*, III, iii, 260-263; *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i, 193-199.

[4] *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii, 159-160.

[5] *Hamlet*, II, ii, 353.

we know, as Turbervile informs us, that the eyas is a small hawk, flighty, skittish, and difficult to train. Numerous other examples might be cited from the dramatists; perhaps the best known is in the first act of Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, where the motivating force of the play is a quarrel between Sir Charles and Sir Francis as to the respective merits of their hawks.

An excellent discussion of Elizabethan sports is found in Nathan Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*,[6] in which hawking is discussed at length. Drake quotes numerous examples from Richard Brathwait's *English Gentleman*, 1630, Thomas Nashe's *Quaternio, et al.*, which show, not only that hawking was very popular, but also that an acquaintance with its numerous terms was a necessary attribute of a gentleman. In an early anonymous treatise, *The Institucion of a Gentleman*, 1555, occurs the remark: "Ther is a saying emong hunters that he cannot be a gentleman whyche loveth not hawkyng and hunting," [7] and Ben Jonson satirized the same fad in *Every Man in his Humour*,[8] where the rustic Master Stephen asks his uncle for "a booke of the sciences of hawking, and hunting," since "the hawking, and hunting-languages now-a-days . . . are more studied than the Greeke, or the Latine" and form an essential part of a gentleman's education. According to authorities on the subject, Jonson's own knowledge of hawking terms was derived from books or hearsay, since he frequently misuses them, whereas Shakespeare applies them with a correctness only to be born of experience.

Turbervile's *Booke of Hauking* was evidently written to take advantage of the prevailing fashion, since the title page states that it is "for the Onelye Delight and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen"; [9] but he has also compiled a first-rate manual

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[6] London, 1817, I, 255 ff.

[7] See Harting, *Bibl. Accip.*, pp. 9-10.

[8] I, i.

[9] An extended article on hawking, based chiefly upon the Booke of *Hauking* and upon Turbervile's poems, appears in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, London, 1805-1809, IX, 258-276.

for the care of hawks, one that would serve a keeper of the hawks as well as the fine gentleman who wished to bandy terms without any real knowledge of their meaning. His work is not the earliest on the subject; neither did it prove the most popular. In that regard, the palm must be awarded to Dame Juliana Barnes, or Berners, who in 1486 compiled *The Boke of St. Albans*, a volume containing treatises on hawking, hunting, and coat-armor. The earliest printer of the work is unknown; it was reprinted in 1496 by Wynkyn de Worde with an added treatise "Of Fysshynge wyth an Angle," and was thereafter reissued in various forms at least twenty times before the year 1614, and its popularity has not failed, even to our own day.[10] In spite of the fact that it was reprinted by William Copland in 1561, Turbervile states, in dedicating his volume to the Earl of Warwick, that he never knew any work in English treating of the same matter; he probably did not think the earlier book a very thorough treatise on the subject. His work is an acknowledged translation from various French and Italian authors, a list of whom he gives and most of whom are mentioned in his "Epilogue," but it is written with unmistakable enthusiasm for the subject, shown in his introductory poem as well as in the body of the text. The book is abundantly illustrated with woodcuts of the various kinds of hawks and of hawking scenes. On the title page appears such a scene in which a gentleman, presumably the Earl of Warwick, is standing with a hawk perched on his wrist. In the interior of the book, some of the woodcuts contain portraits of Queen Elizabeth; in the 1611 edition, two of these (pp. 81, 112) are cut out, and the portrait of James the First inserted instead. The 1611 edition also omits the dedication to the Earl of Warwick and the commendatory poem by Ro. Baynes; otherwise, its contents appear to be identical with those of the earlier volume.[11]

The modern reader will not find the *Booke of Hauking* very

[10] Ed. 1496 reprinted by Joseph Haslewood, 1810; ed. 1486 reprinted in facsimile by William Blades, 1881; eds. 1560, 1561, 1596 reprinted in *Hunting, Hawking, Shooting*, by C. F. G. R. Schwerdt, 3 vols., Waterlow & Sons, 1929.

[11] I have examined both editions, but not together; some minor differences may have escaped my attention.

interesting except as a handbook to an old sport. No attempt is made at style; the author himself assures us that it is meant to be a practical manual on the care of hawks, and that his chief aim has been to render his originals faithfully into English. This he appears to have done well.

THE NOBLE ARTE OF VENERIE OR HUNTING

This volume, usually referred to as the *Booke of Hunting*, was intended to be a companion volume to the *Booke of Hauking*, and the two are often found bound together in both the 1575 and 1611 editions. The book is anonymous and no date appears on the title page, but the letter "The Translator to the Reader" is dated "from my chamber this .xvi. of Iune. 1575"; so we may take that year as the approximate date of its publication.[1] This letter is unsigned, but the translator commends the zeal of his friend, the Printer, "who to his great costs hath sought out as muche as is written and extant in any language, concerning the noble Artes of Venerie and Falconrie," an enterprise in which "he hath shewed himselfe more disirous (a rare example) to pleasure others, than to profit himself." This identifies the printer as Christopher Barker, printer of the *Booke of Hauking*, a fact corroborated by his initials, C. B., which are signed to the dedication. This dedication is to the Queen's Master of Hart Hounds, Sir Henry Clinton, whom the printer states to have been recommended by the translator as a suitable patron for such a book. Commendatory verses are prefixed to the volume by George Gascoigne, at the end of whose poem is quoted his motto, "Tam Marti quam Mercurio," and by T. M. Q., after whose verse is quoted "Latet, quod non patet." A number of poems are scattered throughout the volume, and at the end are the music and measures for blowing the hunting horn.

This book is usually attributed to Turbervile because of its connection with the *Booke of Hauking*, but those have not been lacking who questioned his authorship. The alternative author is Gascoigne, on account of his commendatory verses, and Hazlitt went so far as to print the lyrics from the *Booke of Hunting* in his edition of Gascoigne's works. However, Turbervile's authorship is generally accepted, and two references recently

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[1] 1576 is frequently given and is accepted by the editors of the Tudor & Stuart Library edition. For discussion, see the next page.

observed place it beyond a doubt. In Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, appears the following passage:

> Bulls, Bears, and Boars, are so furious in this kind, they kill one another; but especially Cocks, Lions, and Harts, which are so fierce that you may hear them fight half a mile off, saith Turberville, and many times kill each other, or compel them to abandon the rut, that they may remain masters in their places; "and when one hath driven his corrival away, he raiseth his nose up into the the air, and looks aloft, as though he gave thanks to nature," which affords him such great delight.[2]

The first part of the passage, through the word "Lions," is referred in a note to Pliny, while a note on "Turberville" refers to "cap. 17 of his book of hunting." The reference is accurate, and the last three lines, it will be noted, are a quotation of Turbervile's words, "they rayse their nose vp into the ayre, and looke aloft, as though they gaue thankes to nature which gaue them so great delight." [3]

The second reference occurs in *Book Prices Current*, 1907, where is recorded a sale by Sotheby to Quaritch:

> Turbervile, The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting, etc. black letter, woodcuts, cut on title (coloured), (hole in title, corners of 2 leaves defective), finishes on A, after which comes Turbervile's Epilogue, half calf H. Bynneman, 1576, small quarto.

The price listed is four pounds. I have not thus far been successful in tracing this copy, and none of the writers upon this book has ever mentioned a copy with an epilogue by Turbervile or anyone else; however, the existence of a signed epilogue strongly supports his authorship of the volume. Since Bynneman is named as the printer, this copy must belong to a second edition, 1576, the first and undated edition having been printed by Christopher Barker, presumably in 1575.

The *Booke of Hunting*, like its predecessor, is chiefly a translation, largely from the work of a single French author, whose name is not given and whom I have not identified. This author refers frequently to the book of Tristram and gives num-

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[2] Burton's *Anatomy*, part III, section 2, mem. 1, subs. 1. I am indebted to Professor Rollins for calling my attention to this passage.

[3] Tudor & Stuart Reprint, p. 45. All subsequent references are to this edition.

erous instances of hunting in France, a fact that is likely to deceive the reader who does not realize that these references are by the French author and that Turbervile is merely translating them.[4] There are numerous places in which Turbervile appears to have condensed his original, and others where he has inserted material obviously his own. Of the latter sort are the numerous poems which are scattered throughout the volume, and treatises on several animals which, he tells us, his authors have not discussed. The volume is profusely illustrated with woodcuts, the printer having saved himself money by frequently repeating the same woodcut. The illustrations are mostly of huntsmen with dogs and of the animals hunted. There are three large hunting scenes in which occur portraits of Queen Elizabeth;[5] I cannot say whether these were changed for portraits of James I in the 1611 edition, as was done in the *Booke of Hauking*.

Unlike the *Booke of Hauking*, the *Noble Arte of Venerie* is a book which the average person will read with pleasure. Except for brief treatises at the end upon the terms of hunting and the diseases of dogs, the entire volume is devoted to the animals hunted, chiefly the hart, and contains all sorts of curious lore and lively anecdotes of hunting. Turbervile has done an excellent piece of work; his prose style is quaint and eminently suitable to his subject, and we find many passages of genuine literary merit. Some of the remarkable information which this volume furnishes may be seen in the following passages:

> There is a bone founde in the heart of an Harte, the which is very medecinable against the trembling of the heart, and especially for women great with childe.
>
> (p. 39)

> ISodore sayeth that the Harte is right contrarie to the Serpent, and that when he is olde, decrepyte, and sicke, that hee goeth to the dennes and caues of Serpentes, and with his nostrels he puffeth and forceth his breath into their holes, in suche sort, that by vertue and force therof he constreyneth the Serpents to come forth, and being come forth, he kylleth them with his foote, and afterwards eateth and deuoureth them.
>
> (p. 41)

[4] A good bibliography of books of hunting in all languages is R. Souhart, *Ouvrages sur la Chasse*, Paris, 1886.

[5] Tudor & Stuart Reprint, pp. 90, 95, 133.

The following anecdote shows Turbervile's occasional didactic vein:

. . . For we read of an Emperor named *Basill* which had ouercome his enimies in many battels, and had done great deeds of Chiualrie in his Countrie, and was yet neuerthelesse slayne with an Harte in breaking of a Bay. Behold gentle Reader the vnconstancie of variable fortune. A Prince whiche had done so many deedes of prowesse amongst men: which had both comforted his friendes, and discomforted his enimies: which had peaceably defended his people, and courageously assaulted suche as sought to subuert his dominion, was at the last in the pryde of his pleasure, in the pursute of his pastime, and in the vnexpected day of his destenie, vanquished, slayne and gored with the hornes of a brute Beast: yea (that more is) by a fearefull beast, and such an one as durst not many dayes nor houres before haue beheld the countenance of the weakest man in his kingdome: A Beast that fledde from him, and a beast whom he constreyned (in his owne defence) to do this detestable murder. This example may serue as a mirrour to al Princes and Potestates, yea and generally to all estates, that they brydle their mindes from proferying of vndeserued iniuries, and do not constrayne the simple sakelesse man to stand in his owne defence, nor to do (like the worme) turne agayne when it is troden on.

(p. 125)

In yet another passage, Turbervile gives his reasons for undertaking the book:

. . . And bycause at these dayes there are many men which beare hornes and bewgles, and yet cannot tell how to vse them, neyther how to encourage and helpe theyr houndes therwith, but rather do hinder than furder them, hauing neyther skill nor delight to vse true measure in blowyng: and therewithal seyng that Princes and Noble men take no delight in huntyng, hauing their eyes muffled with the Scarfe of worldly wealth, and thinking thereby to make theyr names immortall, which in deede doth often leade them to destruction bothe of bodie and soule, and oftener is cause of the shortening of theyr lyfe (which is their principall treasure here on earth) since a man shall hardly see any of them reygne or liue so long as they did in those dayes that euery Forest rong with houndes and hornes, and when plentie of flagon bottels were caried in euery quarter to refreshe them temperately. Therefore I shoulde thinke it labour lost to set downe these things in any perfect order, were it not that I haue good hope to see the nobilitie and youth of England exercise themselues aswell in that as also in sundrie other noble pastimes of recreation, accordyng to the steppes of theyr Honorable Auncestors and Progenitours. And therefore I aduenture this trauayle, to set downe in articles and particularities, the secretes and preceptes of Venerie as you see.

(p. 110)

These lines shed a new light upon the character of Turbervile. If his poems present him as a scholar and earnest student of poetry, here he is shown as a country gentleman, a lover of old sports and old customs, a worthy member of that distinguished fraternity which includes, among others, Squire Hardcastle and the father of Frank Bracebridge.

In his chapter on Elizabethan sports, Drake gives a good account of hunting during that period.[6] The chief differences from the same sport in modern times are that the quarry, when brought to bay, was despatched with a hunting knife or hunting-spear, a fact that involved no little personal risk for the hunter, particularly, so Turbervile tells us, when the quarry was a wild boar; and that the hunts were usually carried on in large parks or game preserves, enclosed by fences, so that it was possible for a man to follow the hunt on foot, as the deer or other animal had to double back and forth within a limited space. Thus, when Queen Elizabeth wished to see the hunt, she and her attendants would take a point of vantage within the park and, by remaining in one spot, would see a great deal of the chase. It was considered a feat to make the kill in the presence of the Queen, and Drake records one instance of a keeper who, following the stag on horseback, overtook him and leaped upon his back; after maintaining his seat there for some time, the huntsman drew his sword and pierced the stag's throat just as they reached the green where Elizabeth was seated. His prowess was so well remembered that the incident is sculptured on his tomb in Walton Church, Surrey.

In his *Booke of Hunting*, Turbervile records a definite order of etiquette which was to be observed in the hunt whenever a sovereign or other person of high rank was present. In a poem he describes how an assembly should be made and the spot selected from which the sovereign should watch the hunt. As this poem contains some of his best verse, a part of it is here transcribed:

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[6] Drake, *op. cit.*, I, 272 ff. An article on hunting, based largely on Turbervile's work and quoting many of his lyrics, occurs in Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, X, 225-265.

The place should first be pight, on pleasant gladsome greene,
Yet vnder shade of stately trees, where little sunne is seene:
And neare some fountaine spring, whose chrystall running streames,
May helpe to coole the parching heate, ycaught by *Phœbus* beames.
The place appoynted thus, it neyther shall be clad,
With Arras nor with Tapystry, such paltrie were too bad:
Ne yet those hote perfumes, whereof proude Courtes do smell,
May once presume in such a place, or Paradise to dwell.
Away with fayned fresh, as broken boughes or leaues,
Away, away, with forced flowers, ygathred from their greaues:
This place must of it selfe, afforde such sweet delight,
And eke such shewe, as better may content the greedie sight:
Where sundry sorts of hewes, which growe vpon the ground,
May seeme (indeede) such Tapystry, as we (by arte) haue found.
Where fresh and fragrant flowers, may skorne the courtiers cost,
Which daubes himselfe with Syuet, Muske, and many an oyntment lost.
Where sweetest singing byrdes, may make such melodye,
As *Pan*, nor yet *Apollos* arte, can sounde such harmonye.
Where breath of westerne windes, may calmely yeld content,
Where casements neede not opened be, where ayre is neuer pent.
Where shade may serue for shryne, and yet the Sunne at hande,
Where beautie neede not quake for colde, ne yet with Sunne be tande.
In fine and to conclude, where pleasure dwels at large,
Which Princes seeke in Pallaces, with payne and costly charge.
(p. 91)

The poem continues with an account of the abundant refreshments that shall be served, and of a mock quarrel that shall then take place between the Cook and the Butler for the Queen's amusement. The whole is illustrated with a large woodcut, in which Queen Elizabeth is the central figure.

After the deer was killed, it was etiquette that the noblest person present should begin its dismemberment or "breaking up":

The deare being layd vpon his backe, the Prince, chiefe, or such as they shall appoint, commes to it: And the chiefe huntsman (kneeling, if it be to a Prince) doth holde the Deare by the forefoote, whiles the Prince or chief, cut a slyt drawn alongst the brysket of the deare, somewhat lower than the brysket towards the belly. This is done to see the goodnesse of the flesh, and howe thicke it is.

(p. 134)

Turbervile is careful to inform us that this differs from the French manner, an account of which he translates. The passage is accompanied by a woodcut, in which a gentleman kneeling is offering the hunting knife to Queen Elizabeth to begin operations as described.

The study of this quaint old book greatly increases our understanding of the many references to hunting among the Elizabethans, the most famous examples of which occur in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[7] Both of Turbervile's works on sport are distinct contributions to the literature of the period in which they were written.

[7] For Shakespeare's use of hunting terms, etc., see D. H. Madden, *The Diary of Master William Silence*, London, 1897.

TURBERVILE'S POEMS

The poems of George Turbervile, apart from his translations, are preserved in two volumes, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, and the later *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* annexed to the 1587 edition of *Tragicall Tales*. Of the latter volume, only the one edition has survived; of the earlier *Epitaphes*, two editions are still extant, that of 1567 and the second one, published in 1570. The second edition was evidently set up from a copy of the first, which it follows, page for page and line for line, though there are numerous minor textual variations.

The poems in the later *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* afford an interesting problem, as we cannot be sure just when they were first published. The title-page seems to indicate that they were annexed to *Tragicall Tales* at the first appearance of that volume. A number of the poems were written as early as 1569, as the title page again informs us, while at least two, the epitaphs of Henry Sydenham and Giles Bampfield, were written during or after January, 1573/74, at about which time these two gentlemen were drowned.[1] It would thus appear that the poems were first published in the 1574 edition of *Tragicall Tales*, the probable existence of which we have already pointed out. We can be reasonably sure, however, that Turbervile did not himself supervise their publication, because of the carelessness with which his twelve- and fourteen-syllable lines are divided in the printed text. I have already pointed out that such lines were usually written at full length but when printed were divided at the *caesura*, on account of the narrowness of the page. In the shorter line, the *caesura* occurs after the sixth syllable, in the longer, after the eighth; early Elizabethan writers were usually very careful to make their divisions properly, and advice concerning the *caesura* is given in Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes of Instruction*, 1575.[2] But in Turbervile's *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* a large number of the lines are improperly divided, while in one instance the printer

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1 *State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1585, p. 9; *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII, 176.
2 *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 471.

has neglected to make the division, printing the twelve syllables as one line. As we have seen, Turbervile asked his friend, Roger Baynes, to see his *Tragicall Tales* through the press, and in them the divisions are properly made; it is probable that *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* was added as an afterthought and the type set up by a printer not too careful of the rules of versification.

Among these poems, however, are two instances of poetic irregularities which must be attributed to the author's carelessness. In "A warning that she be not vncourteous," he suddenly switches from poulter's measure, in which the first couplet is written, and gives us one couplet of two twelve-syllable lines. In his epistle "To Parker," after a number of lines he switches from poulter's measure and writes the rest of the poem in "fourteeners." It is to this practice, and possibly to this particular instance, that Gascoigne took vigorous exception in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction*. He says:

> I say then, remember to holde the same measure wherwith you begin, whether it be in a verse of sixe syllables, eight, ten, twelve, &c., and though this precept might seeme ridiculous unto you, since every yong scholler can conceive that he ought to continue in the same measure wherwith he beginneth, yet do I see and read many mens Poems now adayes, whiche beginning with the measure of xii. in the first line, & xiiii. in the second (which is the common kinde of verse) they wil yet (by that time they have passed over a few verses) fal into xiiii. & fourtene, & *sic de similibus*, the which is either forgetfulnes or carelesnes.[3]

The errors condemned are exactly those made by Turbervile. Since Gascoigne's criticism appeared in 1575, this strengthens the probability that Turbervile's *Epitaphes and Sonnettes* appeared in 1574.

For the most part, the quality of Turbervile's poetry is consistently smooth and is marred by very few metrical irregularities. He introduces a considerable variety of verse forms and in several instances produces lyrics of charm; but in general his work does not possess a high order of poetic merit. He himself thoroughly realized this and in numerous references apologizes for his "meaner wit" which cannot measure up to that of greater poets,

[3] Works, ed. Cunliffe, I, 466.

such as Sackville; his excuse is that lesser men have their place and should not be scorned any more than the shrub which cannot equal the pine in size. For the present-day reader, he will prove interesting chiefly because of the background of his reading. His poetry is almost entirely derivative; practically all of his ideas are taken from earlier authors and are imitative to the highest degree. This very lack of any marked originality on his part makes him a faithful reflector of the literary tendencies of his time. If anyone wishes to know what the educated Elizabethan gentleman read, thought, and talked during the years 1565-1575, he can scarcely do better than study the works of George Turbervile.

By far the most important of Turbervile's literary sources is *Tottel's Miscellany*, which was published in 1557 and ran through a large number of editions to the end of the century. Its enduring popularity is attested by Shakespeare's reference to it in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.[4] While its principal authors were Surrey, Wyatt, and Nicholas Grimald, Surrey's name alone appears on the title page. This seems to have led Turbervile to believe that Surrey was the volume's sole author,[5] since in his poem "In prayse of Lorde Henrye Howarde Earle of Surrey" he commends him for writing epitaphs upon so many of the noble gentlemen who died during his time. As a matter of fact, Surrey contributes only two epitaphs, both upon Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Turbervile's reference is probably to the numerous epitaphs by Grimald, most of which were omitted from the second and later editions. Turbervile's indebtedness to the *Miscellany* is very great, and it is no exaggeration to say that, with the exception of his epigrams, more than two-thirds of his poems were influenced by *Tottel*. In many instances he has paraphrased poems from *Tottel*, merely expanding them; at other times, he incorporates paraphrased passages into longer poems of his own,

[4] I, i, 206: "*Slender*: I had rather than forty shillings I had my Book of Songs and Sonnets here."

[5] Further confirmation of this view appears in Turbervile's "An Aunswere to his Ladie. . . ," where he attributes to Surrey a statement found in a poem by one of the uncertain authors (see *Tottel*, Arber's Reprint, p. 235).

while frequently the indebtedness goes no farther than the title. Even his vocabulary is largely based on *Tottel*, abounding in such phrases as "herald of the heart," "bathe in bliss," "blear mine eyes." One cannot read Turbervile's works without realizing to what a tremendous extent he and his immediate contemporaries were influenced by the *Miscellany*.

The only other English writings to which Turbervile is considerably indebted are those of Chaucer and the apocryphal works assigned to him in current editions.[6] This influence is principally shown in Turbervile's numerous references to Cressida and her falseness, based upon *Troilus and Criseyde* and upon Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, which was always printed immediately after the *Troilus*. Two of his poems are based entirely upon the *Troilus*,[7] while another is chiefly indebted to *The Romaunt of the Rose*.[8] There are numerous other passages which show the influence of these two poems, also of *The Book of the Duchesse*, *The Parlement of Foules*, *The Hous of Fame*, and some of the minor poems. His frequent references to Alcestis, Lucrece, Ariadne, Cleopatra, etc., are probably due to his knowledge of *The Legend of Good Women*. He has not used the *Canterbury Tales* so extensively; their influence is restricted to a few proverbs and single lines. Chaucer's influence upon Turbervile's vocabulary is also evident in the latter's fondness for archaic words.

For the chief background of our poet's work, however, we must turn to the classical authors. His proficiency as a Latin scholar is attested by the extraordinary rapidity with which he turned out his translations from that language. In the dedication to his *Mancinus*, he quotes from Aristotle's "boke of morall Vertues"; in his poem "The Louer to *Cupid* for mercie," he tells us that while at school he had to read from Plato's *Laws* and from some of the moral works of Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca,

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[6] Turbervile probably used John Stow's edition of 1561. Most of the apocryphal works included therein are reprinted in volume VII of Skeat's Chaucer.

[7] "He sorrowes the long absence of his Ladie. P."; "The Louer. . . compares his estate with *Troylus*."

[8] "The Louer to *Cupid* for mercie. . . ."

but that he later deserted these writers to devote all his time to Ovid. In a poem from his later volume, "The Authors excuse . . . ," he again pays tribute to Ovid and states that the perusal of that author's work was the immediate inspiration of his own writings. The moral writers mentioned do not seem to have affected his work except for a few of their sentiments which he appropriates and a tendency to moralize overlong upon the value of virtue, the infelicity of Fortune, the uncertainty of life, and similar subjects; but when we turn to Ovid, we find very large borrowings. Several of Turbervile's poems are verbatim translations from that poet, and frequent passages in others are directly indebted to Ovid. Perhaps the best illustration of his method is his poem "That Time conquereth all things, saue the Louers paine," in which the first portion is translated almost literally from the *Tristia* and the last few lines are paraphrased from a poem of Wyatt in *Tottel's Miscellany*.[9] His borrowings from the *Tristia*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Amores* are particularly heavy, though he appears to have studied all of Ovid's works, except possibly the *Fasti* and some of the minor poems.

Turbervile's next source of importance was the *Greek Anthology*, from which the greater part of his epigrams are drawn. Professor T. K. Whipple in 1925 pointed out Turbervile's indebtedness to the *Anthology*, and noticed that a number of his epigrams were drawn from Latin versions by Ausonius and by Sir Thomas More.[10] In 1928, Professor H. B. Lathrop observed that all of Turbervile's epigrams from the *Anthology* were taken from a collection made by Janus Cornarius, a German scholar, in 1529.[11] Practically all of Lathrop's observations, however, had already been noticed by Koeppel, who discusses Turbervile's use of Cornarius's collection.[12]

Turbervile must be considered the real pioneer in introducing

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9 Cf. *Tottel*, Arber's Reprint, p. 46; *Tristia*, IV, vi, 1-18.

10 *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*, Berkeley, California, 1925.

11 *Modern Language Notes*, XLIII (1928), 223-229.

12 *Op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff. Cornarius's volume is entitled *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca . . .*, Basle, 1529.

classical epigrams to English readers, since the earlier epigrams of John Heywood are original. One epigram from the *Anthology* was translated by Robert Crowley in 1550;[13] the same epigram and one other were rendered by Wyatt in *Tottel's Miscellany*.[14] *Tottel* also includes two poems by Nicholas Grimald, "Mans life after Possidonius, or Crates" and "Metrodorus minde to the contrarie," which are derived from the *Planudean Anthology* through Latin versions by George Buchanan.[15] Surrey has one epigram whose ultimate source appears to be the *Anthology*[16] and one which is translated from Martial;[17] Wyatt's numerous epigrams are chiefly indebted to the Italian works of Serafino and others. It will thus be seen that Turbervile is the first author to render classical epigrams into English as anything more than an occasional literary exercise. He has translated thirty-five epigrams directly from Cornarius's collection and has imitated one other, as well as incorporating several of them into longer poems of his own. A few more epigrams, whose sources I have not been able to find, were probably translated from another contemporary collection.

Inspired by Turbervile's example, Timothy Kendall, in his *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, made an extensive collection of epigrams translated from classical authors. His chief source is also Cornarius's *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca*, though he has a large number from Martial and other writers. He quotes several of Turbervile's epigrams almost verbatim without giving their author any credit, a practice which led Professor Rollins to characterize his borrowings as "impudent plagiarisms."[18] It is not probable that Kendall thought of them as such, however, since he frequently adds another version of his own and also includes Surrey's translation from Martial. His object seems to have been to emulate Cornarius and to make an anthology of classical epi-

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[13] Crowley, *Epigrams*, ed. J. M. Cowper, *EETS*, p. 30.
[14] Arber's Reprint, pp. 42, 82; cf. *Anthologia Palatina*, X, 121; IX, 44.
[15] *Georgii Buchanani Poemata*, ed. 1687, p. 359.
[16] "Of Sardinapalus dishonorable life, and miserable death" (*Tottel*, p. 30). Cf. *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 325.
[17] *Tottel*, Arber's Reprint, p. 27.
[18] Rollins, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

grams which had been translated into English; that he diligently compared them with the original is shown by his occasional omissions and changes from Turbervile's versions, which invariably result in making the epigram a closer translation of the Latin source. In only one instance should his borrowings be called plagiarism; in that case, he incorporates lines from Turbervile into one of his own poems. Kendall had some of the instincts of a scholar, but the quality of his poetry is so wretched that his collection has little value save for its uniqueness. A number of Turbervile's epigrams are included in one later collection, Henry Wellesley's *Anthologia Polyglotta*, 1849.

For the rest, Turbervile's works show a rather wide background of general reading in the classics. One of his poems is based upon the *Theogony* of Hesiod;[19] another is taken from the opening books of the *Iliad*,[20] while a third makes use of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.[21] In one instance, he is considerably indebted to the *Pervigilium Veneris*,[22] an anonymous Latin poem usually printed with the works of Catullus, while occasional correspondencies may be found to the works of Catullus, Tibullus, Juvenal, *et al.*, and to the Greek bucolic poets. He mentions and quotes from Horace in the *Epitaphes* and in the introduction to his *Mantuan*; next to Ovid, Horace probably influenced him more than any other classical writer. Frequent parallels are found to the works of the neo-classicists, in whom we know Turbervile was interested, since he translates from two of them, Mantuan and Mancinus. He probably read Sir Thomas More's Latin poems, as his signature is preserved upon a title-page of that author's works; and among his *Tragicall Tales* occurs the quotation, "Aut sero, aut citius," [23] which seems to be adapted from More's line, "Serior, aut citior debuit hora legi." [24] Other instances of classical influence are too numerous to mention.

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of Turbervile's

19 "A Myrrour of the fall of Pride."
20 "The Louer . . . bewayles his estate."
21 "Of the torments of Hell and the paines of Love."
22 "The Louer hoping in May. . . ."
23 Quoted after the second tale. *Vide supra*, p. 23.
24 From More's epigram "Ad Quendam Ebriosum" (*Epigrammata*, Basle, 1520, p. 93).

style is his frequent use of proverbs or phrases that have proverbial force; in the later *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*, such phrases are often printed in italics or Roman type, while the context is in black letter, with the evident purpose of calling attention to the moral which they convey. The use of proverbs as an ornament of style was advocated by Thomas Wilson in 1560, and he particularly recommended the collection of John Heywood, "whose paines in that behalf, are worthie immortall praise." [25] The most important work on proverbs is of course Erasmus's monumental collection, *Adagiorum Chiliades*, in which thousands of Latin proverbs and quotations are classified, indexed, and interpreted, and directions are given for their use. Turbervile appears to have drawn upon Heywood and Erasmus heavily, having some forty or fifty passages which are to be found in the latter author. Numerous correspondencies are also found to Erasmus's *Similia*, but here the indebtedness is not so clear, since that work is based chiefly upon the moral works of Plutarch, Aristotle, and Seneca, which our poet had read for himself. Some of his proverbs may be traced to the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, and a few which I have not observed elsewhere occur in a miscellaneous collection of poems, adages, etc., *Epigrammata et Poematia* [*sic*] *Vetera*, Paris, 1590.[26] A proverb usually becomes so much a part of the common speech that it is impossible to say that it is derived from a particular source; however, Turbervile's borrowings are heavy enough to indicate that he was indebted to literary sources as well as to the common speech of the people. This seems even more likely when we notice that a large number of his proverbs which are found in the Latin do not appear in Heywood's English collection.[27]

The use of adages and "wise saws" as ornaments of style is

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[25] *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. G. H. Mair, p. 119.

[26] A copy of this book is owned by the present writer.

[27] That Erasmus's *Adagia* were used by the Elizabethans is shown by Gascoigne's comment after his poem, *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis*, 1575: "Who soever is desirous to reade this proposicion more at large and cunningly handled, let him but peruse the Proverbe or adage it self in the first Centurian of the fourth *Chyllyade* of that famouse Clarke *Erasmus Roterodamus*: the whiche is there also Entituled: *Dulce bellum inexpertis*" (*Works*, ed. Cunliffe, I, 184).

a very common practice and not necessarily a bad one, since they form an important element in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare. This tradition reaches its climax during the Elizabethan age in George Pettie's *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, 1576, and in Lyly's *Euphues*, 1579, in which the style frequently resolves into a string of proverbs;[28] it also affects the style of John Bodenham's publications, *Belvedere*, 1600, and the two parts of *Wit's Commonwealth*, 1598. Turbervile does not allow himself to fall into the exaggerations which characterize these works; his words are rather those of a man whose speech falls naturally into "pat" sayings and appropriate sentences remembered from his reading, a characteristic which reminds us of William Hazlitt's prose style with the quotation marks left out. That Turbervile did most of his quoting from memory is indicated by the Latin and Italian quotations included in his *Tragicall Tales* and *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*. After his fourth tale, he quotes "Nihil proditore tutum," which appears to be adapted from an adage attributed to Publilius Syrus, "Nullus sapientum proditori credidit." [29] In his first tale he quotes the fifth and seventh lines from one of Petrarch's sonnets, reversing their order and giving them as one quotation.[30] In another instance, he combines into one quotation lines 53 and 94 from the first book of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*.[31] In yet another case, a line from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is slightly misquoted and is combined into a quotation with a line from some other source.[32] These examples serve to indicate Turbervile's method of work, which makes it seem probable that many of his passages based upon *Tottel* and the works of Chaucer are the result of an extremely retentive memory rather than a deliberate plagiarizing from those volumes.

We should naturally expect to find a strong Italian influence in Turbervile's poems because of his use of Italian in *Tragicall*

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28 For a valuable study of proverbs, based upon the works of Lyly and Pettie, see Morris P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*, New York, 1926.

29 *Publilii Syri Sententiae*, ed. 1869, p. 129.

30 Vide *supra*, p. 57.

31 After the last poem in *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*.

32 After his second epitaph on Sydenham and Bampfield.

Tales, but such an influence is not very evident. Among the Italian quotations which he cites are three from Petrarch, but practically all of his borrowings from Petrarch come through the medium of *Tottel's Miscellany*. One of his poems is written upon a theme from Boccaccio, which is quoted at the end of the poem;[33] with this exception, most of the Italian quotations or "posies" seem to be added for the sake of ornament. Like Gascoigne,[34] he had probably begun the study of Italian too late to have acquired a wide background of reading in that tongue.[35]

Turbervile's use of "posies" in his later volume of poems deserves particular notice. These consist of short proverbial phrases, couplets, or quatrains, which are placed at the beginning or end of a poem as a sort of moral to the piece. One phrase, "Nocet empta dolore voluptas," is printed on the title page of *Tragicall Tales* and adopted as his signature, since it also appears on the title page of the *Booke of Hauking*, published a year later. He uses mottoes in three languages, Latin, Italian, and English.

The use of mottoes or "posies" among the Elizabethans became suddenly the fashion about 1570 and continued so throughout the century. In discussing them, it is necessary to differentiate between the two purposes for which they were used. Perhaps most frequently they were employed as a signature with which a man signed his works; his own name might or might not be added. The use of a motto as a signature was familiar enough in heraldry and in printer's devices; for example, among Turbervile's printers, Henry Denham's motto was "Os homini sublime dedit," that of Henry Bynneman was "Omnia tempus habent," while that of Abel Jeffs was "Prase the Lorde with harpe and songe." The earliest instance that I have observed of a writer's using a motto for a signature occurs in Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, 1567, upon the title page of which

[33] After his poem to Spencer, "*Virtuti comes inuidia.*" Cf. the *Decameron*, IV, "Intermezzo."

[34] *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, II, 477.

[35] Professor Angelo Lipari, of the Yale Department of Romance Languages, has kindly examined Turbervile's Italian quotations for me and concludes that he was not especially skillful in that language, as he makes frequent errors in grammar and metrics when quoting Italian lines.

is printed "Mon heur viendra"; we know that this is intended as a signature, since Fenton uses it in his later works.[36] The most famous example is Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, in which several groups of poems, purporting to be by various authors, are differentiated by the "posies" with which they are signed.[37]

The second purpose for which "posies" were used was as mottoes or texts for literary works. The use of mottoes in other ways had long been common—one remembers that Chaucer's Prioress wore a brooch bearing the words "Amor vincit omnia";[38] but their use as "posies" to state the themes of poems did not arrive in English verse until after 1565, when they were imitated from the Latin emblem books.[39] These illustrative mottoes were sometimes printed on the title page of a book as a text to its contents, but usually they were printed after particular poems or prose passages for the same purpose. The most famous example of this use of mottoes is in *The Shepheardes Calender*, in which each eclogue is followed by the "emblems" of the persons concerned in it. Since Spenser's "emblems" are all different, even when they are assigned to the same person, we know that they were not intended as signatures but as texts or moral observations upon the poems which they follow. Their use bears a general analogy to the "morals" which follow Aesop's fables.

The emblem books proper, from which the use of "posies" was imitated, were illustrated volumes, in which a motto or "emblem" and a brief explanatory epigram were attached to each picture. They appeared in a number of languages during the sixteenth century, but much the most popular collection was Andreas Alciatus's *Emblematum Libellus*, 1522, a work which he later enlarged and which in its various forms went through more than a hundred and thirty editions before 1621. Numerous other works of a similar nature were published, and the emblem

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36 Cf. Fenton's *Monophylo*, 1572; *Golden Epistles*, 1577.

37 See B. M. Ward's edition of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, London, 1926.

38 *Canterbury Tales*, A. 162.

39 As a basis for the discussion which follows, see Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, London, 1870.

book became a popular literary type. The form appears to have been suggested to Alciatus by the *Greek Anthology*, which contains many epigrams upon statues and paintings. I have observed one of his emblematic epigrams which is translated from the *Anthology* and other versions of which are included in Cornarius's *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca*; from that source Turbervile renders it into English.[40]

From my limited opportunities of observation, Turbervile seems to have been considerably influenced by the emblem books and is especially indebted to Alciatus's collection. In the edition which he probably used, that published at Lyons in 1551, there are numerous "emblems" which he may well have borrowed. For example, one of his favorite symbols of hope is shipmen tossed by storms who yet hope to reach the land; Alciatus has a picture of a large ship in a storm, accompanied by an epigram somewhat resembling Turbervile's passages and by the emblem, "Spes proxima." [41] Many of Turbervile's favorite classical references, such as those he makes to the stories of Phaethon, Icarus, Narcissus, Ulysses and Circe, Ulysses and the Sirens, Scylla, and Nestor, are illustrated and supplied with epigrams by Alciatus. His mention of the chameleon that lives on air has a parallel in Alciatus, also. His favorite simile of a snake in the grass and his comparison of the lover to a gnat which singes its wings at the candle are illustrated in Claude Paradin's *Devises Héroïques*, 1563. All of these figures occur in classical sources, but their evident popularity may be partially explained by their use in the emblem books.

The use of "posies" as practised by the Elizabethans is an adaptation of "emblems" with the pictures left out; the motto or proverb becomes emblematic of the poem to which it is attached instead of both being used to illustrate a woodcut. The first emblem book to be printed in English was Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings*, 1569, which is usually

[40] "Of a nightingale. . . ." Cf. *Anthologia Palatina*, IX, 345, 346; Cornarius, pp. 139-140; Alciatus, ed. 1551, p. 62.

[41] Alciatus, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

thought to have given rise to the custom of using "posies" to state poetic themes. This, however, is an error. In Turbervile's translation from Mancinus, *A Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue*, licensed in July, 1567, and published in 1568, occur three mottoes or "posies" illustrative of the text. The first is "*Ardua ad Virtutem via*," which is printed on the title page and obviously presents the argument of the book. The second follows the dedicatory epistle to the Countess of Warwick, which is a long discourse upon the beauties of Virtue; the motto is

Virtutis comes inuidia,
Sed ex virtute gloria.

The third is printed after James Sandford's poem " in praise of the Translater"; it is "*Tutto per il meglio.*" I have observed no earlier and similar uses of "posies" in English; if there are none, Turbervile's book must be given credit for introducing an extremely popular custom. In *Tragicall Tales* and *Epitaphes and Sonnettes*, he employs to a much larger extent the practice which he helped to establish.

In one other important respect, Turbervile is a pioneer in English poetry. He is the first writer to publish a definite and complete sequence of poems in honor of a mistress, such as that of Petrarch in honor of Laura. In *Tottel's Miscellany*, to be sure, the Earl of Surrey has a poem in honor of a maiden, Geraldine,[42] in which he gives an account of her family and laments that his enforced presence at Windsor exiles him from her sight. In the second edition, one other poem is perhaps made to apply to her by the insertion of the word "Garret," which was a family name of the Fitzgeralds. These are the only two poems which are applied to a supposed mistress; the rest are poems upon love in general terms and can scarcely be regarded as part of a sequence. The borrowings from Petrarch of Surrey and Wyatt are for the most part translations of individual sonnets, whereas the later

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[42] For discussions of Geraldine, see Edmond Bapst, *Deux Gentilshommes-Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII*, Paris, 1891, p. 365; John M. Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry*, New York, 1920, p. 516; H. E. Rollins's edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 71 ff.

Elizabethans imitated the idea of a sequence rather than any particular poems.

In Turbervile's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, however, we have a definite poetic sequence in honor of a single mistress. In the first poem after the table of contents, and in the *Argument*, he tells us exactly what he means to do. His mistress is the Countess of Warwick, who is to be figured forth under the name of Pandora, or Pyndara, while he himself will be represented as Tymetes. Even the title page states that the book is "a Discourse of the Friendly affections of *Tymetes* to *Pyndara* his Ladie." Practically all the love poems in the volume are definitely addressed to her and she is frequently mentioned by name or by her initial, *P*. Turbervile includes among his poems a number of epigrams, epitaphs, and verses upon other subjects, but he keeps his sequence always in mind and constantly returns to his main theme. As she is the first subject of his book, so is she the last, and at the end he is able to say to her: "You *Alpha* were when I this Booke begoonne. . . . To be *Omega* now you will not shoonne." To our poet, therefore, must go the honor of introducing the poetic sequence into English.

Turbervile's influence may be traced through a number of later writings, but principally in the contemporary ballads and collections of lyrics. *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576, contains a number of passages which reflect his influence, perhaps most frequently occurring in the poems by William Hunnis. Some poems of Richard Edwards show very close parallels; he and Turbervile must have studied each other's verse in manuscript, since Edwards died in 1566, before either of them had published his work.[43] *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578, shows a much larger influence by Turbervile, whom its authors seem to have studied carefully. Some of these parallels are due to a common source, *Tottel's Miscellany*, but many of them are clearly borrowings from Turbervile. His influence is also felt, though not to nearly the same extent, in *A Handful of Pleas-*

[43] Note the epitaphs on Edwards by Turbervile and by Thomas Twyne, both printed in Turbervile's *Epitaphes*, 1567.

ant Delights, 1584. Large borrowings from his works occur in contemporary ballads, as may be seen in Joseph Lilly's collection *Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides, 1559-1597*, in which the principal authors to show his influence are John Philips and Bernard Garter. It is probably for his place in the ballad tradition that Gabriel Harvey later singled out Turbervile for attack along with William Elderton, as we learn from Nashe's caustic comment.[44] At the same time, this probably explains the continued popularity of his poems, even when poets and literary critics felt him to be out-of-date.

In addition to these miscellanies, a number of later works show striking resemblances to Turbervile's poems. Among them are Thomas Howell's *Arbour of Amitie*, 1568, and his *Devises*, 1581; Timothy Kendall's *Trifles*, 1577; Humfrey Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers*, 1581; and Matthew Grove's *Epigrams and Sonets*, 1587. All of these use the same conventional themes and figures of speech as those employed by Turbervile; all seem to have been indebted to him and to each other. In the anonymous *Alcilia, or Philoparthens Louing Follie*, 1595, are several passages closely paraphrased from Turbervile, and eight passages are quoted and assigned to him in Robert Allot's *Englands Parnassus*, 1600.

From these facts, it will appear that Turbervile's place in the sixteenth century is one of considerable importance among the minor poets. Elizabethan poetry did not reach the full stature and maturity of its genius until later years; but he was present at its birth, so to speak, and, with his companions, had much to do with determining the paths which it should follow.

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[44] Nashe's *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 123.

APPENDIX I

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL ON THE TURBERVILES

For the use of scholars who may be interested in pursuing further the study of Turbervile and his contemporaries, I am giving briefly such materials as I have concerning the other Turberviles of Dorsetshire. These should be studied in connection with the genealogical table given by Hutchins.[1]

JOHN TURBERVILE

John Turbervile, our poet's grandfather, was perhaps the most famous of the ancient Turberviles and seems to have been a favorite with Henry VII. In 1485, the first year of that monarch's reign, he held the offices of "Constable of oure castell of Corff, portershipp of the same, raungershipp of the forrest of Purbek, and of the office of making of two forsters there, and stewardshipp of Corff, within oure countie of Dorset; and also Marshall of the Marshallcie," granted him by letters patent.[2] In the next year, he was appointed Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, serving from November 5, 1486, to November 4, 1487.[3] Shortly before this he had been signally honored by the King, for we are informed that in August, 1486, "Master Troblefylde," with Sir Richard Guildford, kept the church doors at the christening of Prince Arthur, Henry VII's eldest son, at St. Swithin's in Winchester.[4] He was a member from Dorsetshire of the Parliament which met from October, 1491, to March, 1491/92.[5] A John Turbervile, probably our man, was Treasurer of Calais from the sixth to the eighteenth year of this reign, 1491-1503.[6] John Turbervile married Isabella, daughter of John Cheverell, and by her had five sons and three daughters. Of the sons, it is probable that Roger and Humphrey died in youth, as they are not mentioned

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[1] Hutchins's *Dorset*, I, 136 ff.
[2] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, VI, 367. Quoted by Hutchins.
[3] *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, no. IX, p. 124.
[4] Stowe's *Memoranda*, in *Three 15th Century Chronicles*, p. 104, Camden Society Publications.
[5] *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, II, 90.
[6] *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, no. XXXV, p. 142.

in their father's will. He mentions there by name Sir Richard his father; Richard his brother; George, James, and Henry, his sons; and all of George's children. George was his heir; James had entered the Church; to Henry he left his term in the farm of Winterborne Whitchurch.[7] That he also left certain small legacies to the younger children of George and Henry is indicated in a Chancery suit of Nicholas Turbervile vs. Thomas Turbervile of Woolbridge in 1566.[8] John Turbervile died before May 21, 1536, as his will was proved on that date, having been drawn up October 31, 1534.

Henry Turbervile

Henry Turbervile is the father of our poet, and we do not have a great deal of information concerning him. We know that he was engaged in a law suit against one Robert Willoughby, probably his sister Mary's brother-in-law, concerning the will of John Willoughby of Puddletown, Robert's father.[9] He married Jane, daughter of Thomas Bampfield, and was brother-in-law to Hugh Bampfield, to whom our poet dedicates his *Mantuan*, and who is frequently mentioned in the Statute Merchant Bonds of Dorset and other documents of the period.[10] Of Henry Turbervile's four children, Henry, the youngest, must have died in youth, as he is not mentioned in his father's will. This will is fortunately preserved to us in the *Inquisitio post mortem* of Henry Turbervile.[11] It was made September 7, 1549; according to the *Inquisitio*, Henry died five days later, on September 12.

The Five George Turberviles

As may be seen from Hutchins's genealogical table, there were five George Turberviles who lived in Dorsetshire during or near Elizabeth's reign. It is obvious that, unless we have some way of learning their exact dates, we can never be sure whether a contemporary reference actually alludes to our poet or to some

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7 Hutchins, *op. cit.*, I, 138.
8 Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 177, no. 75.
9 Court of Requests, Bundle 33, no. 54, and Bundle 121, no. 5.
10 *Som. & Dors. Notes & Queries*, XI, 260; XII, 14 ff., 66 ff., 155 ff., 205 ff.
11 Chancery Series II, vol. 88, no. 25; Exchequer Series II, file 938, no. 5.

one of his kinsmen. The following list will definitely settle any such perplexing doubts that may arise.

(1) George Turbervile, eldest son of John and uncle of our poet. At his father's death in 1536, he was 44 years old, which places his birth in 1492.[12] He was probably dead by 1549, since he is not mentioned in his brother Henry's will; was certainly dead by 1558/59, since in that year his oldest son, Robert, died possessed of the estate.[13]

(2) George Turbervile, son of Henry. This is our poet. As shown elsewhere, he was probably born in 1544. At that time, his brother Nicholas was not more than six years old, since the *Inquisitio post mortem* of Henry Turbervile in 1549 states that he was then eleven (?) years old.[14]

(3) George Turbervile, second son of Nicholas and nephew of the poet. In 1579/80, the date of his father's death, his elder brother Troilus was six years old;[15] therefore, George must have been born after 1574. He is probably the person referred to by Anthony à Wood and by the *Oxford Registers*[16] as being admitted to Magdalen Hall in November, 1595, at the age of seventeen. In that case, the year of his birth was 1578. It is he that all previous biographers have confused with George Turbervile, the poet.

(4) George Turbervile, son of Troilus. He was born after 1600, since his elder brother, Troilus, was ten years old at the time of their father's death in 1609.[17]

(5) George Turbervile of Woolbridge, son of Thomas. His oldest brother, John, was twenty-one years six months old at the time of their father's death in 1579;[18] so George must have been

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[12] As we learn from the *Inquisitio post mortem* of John Turbervile, an account of which is given in Joseph Hunter's *Chorus Vatum* (Additional MS 24488, ff. 9-12).

[13] *Inquisitio post mortem* of Robert Turbervile, Chancery Series II, vol. 122, no. 26; Exchequer Series II, file 946, no. 24.

[14] The figure is almost illegible; it seems to be XIcim; i.e., undecim. *Vide supra*, p. 6.

[15] *Inquisitio post mortem* of Nicholas Turbervile, Chancery Series II, vol. 188, no. 24.

[16] *Athen. Oxon.*, I, 627 ff.; *Oxford Registers*, ed. Clark, vol. II, part II, p. 211.

[17] *Inquisitio post mortem* of Troilus Turbervile, Chancery Series II, vol. 310, no. 3; Court of Wards, vol. 25, no. 13.

[18] *Inquisitio post mortem* of Thomas Turbervile (of Woolbridge), Chancery Series II, vol. 180, no. 23; Court of Wards, vol. 19, no. 48.

considerably younger, as he was the fifth son. He was probably the George Turbervile of Dorset who entered Gloucester Hall, Oxford, March 9, 1581/82, at the age of eighteen.[19] This would fix his birth in 1564 and he would attain his majority in 1585. He died in 1638.[20]

From this list, it will be seen that any reference to a George Turbervile of Dorsetshire, occurring between the years 1560 and 1585, is in all probability a reference to our poet; remarkably enough, most of our references come precisely within this period. The only other possibility is his second cousin of Woolbridge, to whom the latest references quoted may possibly apply; however, it is not probable that he would be chosen for business transactions while still under age.

Nicholas Turbervile

Nicholas Turbervile is of interest to us as the brother of our poet; to him the latter dedicated his *Tragicall Tales*, expressing his gratitude for many favors received. Nicholas was born about 1538, as just shown, and became the most prominent representative of his family in Dorsetshire. He was frequently involved in law suits against his kinsmen and other neighbors, usually concerning their respective rights to various lands.[21] As we have already observed, he was appointed Sheriff of Dorset and was much trusted by the Privy Council. He is not to be confused with his first cousin, Nicholas Turbervile of Crediton, in Devonshire, to whom we also have numerous references during this period.[22]

Perhaps the most interesting part of Nicholas Turbervile's biography is the exciting circumstances of his death, which aroused interest throughout England. On January 23, 1579/80, he was slain at Cavit Wollent, co. Somerset,[23] by his brother-in-

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19 *Athen. Oxon.*, I, 627 ff.; *Oxford Registers*, vol. II, part II, p. 117.

20 *Som. & Dors. Notes & Queries*, V, 198 .

21 Chancery Proceedings Eliz., I, Aa 3, no. 59; other references in *Som. & Dors. Notes & Queries*, XI, 258-260; XII, 15.

22 Chancery Proceedings Eliz., I, Ss 11, nos. 2, 38; Ss 12, no. 20; Tt 5, no. 2. Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 181, no. 9; Bundle 217, no. 6. *Acts of the Privy Council*, X, 338; XII, 76; XVI, 41.

23 *Inq. post mort.* Nicholas Turbervile, *op. cit.*

law, John Morgan. On the 18th of the following February, the Privy Council wrote to the Sheriff of Somerset "for thappointing of a sufficient jury of good and indifferent men for thenquiry and trial of the murther committed by one Jhon Morgan upon Nicholas Turbervile esquire, at the next Assizes to be helde in that county, and to have regard that the said Morgan may bee safely kept to be forthcoming to awnswer unto justice." [24] On February 26, they directed the release of William Staunton, who had been suspected of the murder, but bound him to appear at the Assizes.[25] As for Morgan, he was attainted for felony and executed on March 14 following. His estate was forfeited to the crown, in lieu of which the Queen granted to his brother and heir, Christopher Morgan, an annuity of twenty pounds.[26] The latter finally recovered the estate through a writ of error in the indictment.[27]

We have a contemporary account of this case from yet another source. In Anthony Munday's *View of sundry Examples, Reporting many straunge murthers*, 1580, occurs the following:

Example of John Morgan, who slew Maister Turbervile in Somersetshire, 1580

Likewise in Somersetshire, one John Morgan, by common report a lewd and wicked liver, and given to swearing, roysting, and all wickednes abounding in him, slew his brother-in-law, Maister Turbervile, a gentleman of godly life, very sober, wise, and discreet, whose wife lying in childebed, yet arose and went to have law and justice pronounced on that cruel malefactor. So, at Chard, before the Lord Chief Justice, hee was condemned and suffered death for his offence. 1580.[28]

Professor Rollins thinks that the incident of Nicholas Turbervile's wife arising from childbed to prosecute her brother is probably an invention of Munday's; that such is not the case is shown by the *Oxford University Registers*, where it is recorded

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24 *Acts*, XI, 391.
25 *Ibid.*, XI, 401.
26 Hutchins, *op. cit.*, II, 158.
27 Croke's *Reports, Elizabeth*, London, 1790, p. 101. The will of John Morgan survives in the *Inquisitio post mortem* of his property, Chancery Series II, vol. 188, no. 34; Court of Wards, vol. 20, no. 192.
28 Ed. J. P. Collier, Old Shakespeare Society Publications, 1851, p. 85. Quoted by Rollins, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

that Arundel Turberville of Dorset, gent. f., matriculated in Oriel College October 19, 1599, at the age of nineteen.[29] Arundel was the youngest son of Nicholas Turbervile and must have been born in 1579 or 1580, shortly before or after his father's death.

The two ballads written upon Nicholas Turbervile's death set forth contrasting views of his character.[30] The first praises him very highly and attacks Morgan as a "papist panther" or Catholic, implying that Turbervile was a Protestant. The second praises Morgan and attacks Turbervile as a proud, boastful, violent man, known as "the killing Justice." It also makes an explicit accusation: "yet turbervile in blanford towne / a dubbell murder dyd." This would seem to indicate that Nicholas Turbervile had formerly killed two people, either in a private quarrel or in line of duty as sheriff of the county.

The estate of Nicholas Turbervile was administered by Anne, his widow, on January 27, 1579/80, and she was made his executrix, since her eldest son, Troilus, was only six years old.[31] This property, which must have been considerable, seems to have attracted new suitors for the young widow. In the *Calendar of State Papers* of 1584, we have the following reference:

> Reasons to show the equity of John Uvedall's cause who was a suitor for marriage with Mrs. Turbervile, by good and orderly proceeding. Their betrothal before the Earl and Countess of Pembroke, giving each other a ring at the same instant. Claim of Alex. Brett to her as his wife.[32]

From another source, we learn that Brett was the victor in this interesting contest, since upon the death of Nicholas Turbervile's widow in 1584, administration of his estate was granted to Alexander Brett, her second husband, on August 7 of that year.[33] He is probably the person mentioned in the *Oxford*

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29 *Oxford Registers*, vol. II, part II, p. 236.

30 Reprinted in *The Modern Language Review*, XXXIII (1938), 520-527. *Vide supra*, pp. 21-22.

31 *Inq. post mort.* Nicholas Turbervile, *op. cit.*

32 *State Papers, Domestic*, 1581-1590, p. 218.

33 *Som. & Dors. Notes & Queries*, II, 89; *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, Second Series, II, 135. The first of these references led Professor Rollins (*op. cit.*, p. 530) to assume the existence of another Nicholas Turbervile, who died in 1584, since the estate was then administered. The second reference makes clear that it was the same Nicholas.

Registers as "Alexander Brette, Somerset, gent. f., 17, admitted to Exeter College, Dec. 3, 1575," [34] in which case he was twenty-five or twenty-six at the time of his marriage. Twice do we hear of him later; in September, 1591, as being instrumental in the capture of Eustace White, a priest,[35] and five months afterward as a petitioner concerning unjust taxes.[36]

Troilus Turbervile, the eldest son of Nicholas, married Anne Wadham. He died shortly before July 8, 1609, since his estate was administered on that date. On July 20 following, Anne, his widow, was named as a recusant.[37]

The Two Thomas Turberviles

Aside from Nicholas Turbervile, the Turberviles most frequently mentioned during Elizabeth's reign are Thomas Turbervile the elder, of Woolbridge, and his nephew, Thomas Turbervile the younger, of Bere. Both of these are mentioned frequently in the Statute Merchant Bonds of Dorset, along with their kinsmen, Nicholas Turbervile and Hugh Bampfield. Both were involved in numerous law suits concerning their lands, sometimes against each other, sometimes against their neighbors.[38] In one instance, Thomas the younger assembled his servants and forcibly expelled Thomas the elder and his sons William and George from lands which the latter had leased in good faith, according to their own account.[39] And in another suit against Nicholas Turbervile, Thomas the elder remarks that he and the said Nicholas had wrongfully expelled one Francis Harvey from certain lands, in compensation for which Nicholas was compelled to pay five hundred marks.[40] This litigious nature of the Turberviles must have made them at times unpopular with their neighbors.

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34 *Oxford Registers*, vol. II, part II, p. 63.
35 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XXI, 426.
36 *Ibid.*, XXII, 259.
37 *Misc. Gen. et Heraldica*, Second Series, II, 135.
38 Chancery Proceedings Eliz., I, Ss 19, no. 3, Tt 10, no. 22. Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 36, no. 95; Bundle 43, no. 92; Bundle 132, no. 22; Bundle 177, no. 27.
39 Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 178, no. 2.
40 Chancery Proceedings, II, Bundle 177, no. 75 (1566).

Thomas Turbervile the elder died at Woolbridge on October 11, 1578, at which time his eldest son, John, was twenty-one years and six months old.[41] Margaret, the widow of Thomas Turbervile, died in 1601, leaving numerous bequests to her children and to her various cousins.[42] Thomas Turbervile the younger, of Bere, died without male issue in 1587/88.[43] His wife, Thomasine Fitz-James, was the granddaughter of John and Elizabeth Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, and Chidiocke, Dorset,[44] whose deaths were commemorated in the poems of George Turbervile. After 1587, the family estates at Bere Regis passed over to the Turberviles of Woolbridge.

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41 *Inq. post. mort.* Thomas Turbervile (of Woolbridge), *op. cit. Vide supra*, p. 87.
42 An account of her will is in Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*, Additional MS 24488, ff. 9-12.
43 *Inq. post. mort.* Thomas Turbervile (of Bere), Chancery Series II, vol. 215, no. 254.
44 Som. & Dors. *Notes & Queries*, XVI, 131.

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